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ART. I. *The Plan of Reform proposed by Sir Francis Burdett. Correctly reported in Two Speeches delivered in Parliament, recommending an Inquiry into the State of the Representation. To which are added, Mr Perceval's Objections to the Motion, and a List of the Minority.* 8vo. pp. 25. London. 1809.

A Letter addressed to John Cartwright, Esq., Chairman of the Committee at the Crown and Anchor, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. By the Earl of Selkirk. 8vo. pp. 24. London. 1809.

IT cannot be doubted, we think, that there is at this moment, among the people of this country, a very strong spirit of discontent with their government, and a very general desire for a more radical reform than would be effected by a mere change of ministry. These, we humbly conceive, are facts which no candid or observing man will venture to call in question; and, like other facts, they must have causes, and causes adequate to their production.

Now, the only cause of discontent, is a sense or a fear of suffering; and all desire for reformation must originate in a conviction, that there are, somewhere, errors or abuses from which suffering is likely to result. We may conclude then with safety, that there are evils in the present political situation of the country, and that these are supposed to be owing to the misconduct of its governors, or to the defective constitution of the government itself. Taking all this, however, and much more than this, for granted, we shall still have many questions of the utmost moment and delicacy to determine. We shall still have to determine, whether the existing evils are *capable of any remedy*; whether the remedies which have been suggested are likely to prove

effectual; and whether they could be applied without the *hazard of greater evils* than those which they were expected to cure.

The great leading evils in our actual condition,—passing over such as arise from local circumstances or individual malversation, may be reduced perhaps to the three following heads; 1st, the burden of our taxes; 2d, the preponderating influence of the Crown, arising from the enormous extent of our establishments, and of the patronage consequently vested in the Sovereign; and, 3dly, the monopoly of political power which the very permanency and nature of the constitution has a tendency to create in the hands of a small part of the nation, and the growing jealousy and disaffection which this is likely to breed in the body of the people.

The real magnitude and danger of these various evils, is very far, as we conceive, from being in the direct ratio of their popular estimation. The most palpable and vexatious of them all, is far from being, in a political view at least, the most grievous or alarming. The actual burden of the taxes does not necessarily indicate any thing unsound or corrupt in the constitution or administration of the government. It may be ascribed, in a great degree, to the peculiar circumstances in which the country has recently been placed, and to the rash and sanguine temper of its inhabitants. The weight of our taxes is owing to the wars, in which the Government has always been seconded by a great majority of the people,—if, indeed, it would not be more correct to say, that it has engaged in them on their instigation. This is an evil, therefore, for which the people have really to blame themselves, and not the Government; and which, with a view to their political rights, may be considered as accidental, if it be not in reality symptomatic of their extent. The vast influence of the Crown, proceeding from our overgrown debt, and public establishments, is a distemper infinitely more formidable, and more deeply rooted in the very constitution of the Government. Though it excites much less clamour than the burden of the taxes, it too is pretty universally intelligible; and the dangers with which it is fraught are pretty familiar, even to the more superficial of our home politicians. It has a tendency, not only to subvert the independence of the Legislature, but to destroy the spirit of liberty in the body of the people, and to convert those into the willing tools of oppression, whose interest, as well as duty, it would otherwise have been to resist it. This evil also may be said to result spontaneously from the circumstances in which the country has been placed, and is the more to be dreaded, because it is not owing to any unwarranted usurpation which might be directly repressed, but has grown up from the exercise of

of those legitimate functions, with which, though conferred in very different circumstances, it must always be a matter of great delicacy to interfere. The last evil we have mentioned is the least understood, and, perhaps, for this very reason, the most formidable of all. It has arisen, like the former, not from any innovation upon established principles, but from a gradual change in the circumstances to which these principles are applied; and may be ascribed, rather to an obstinate adherence to old maxims and practices, than to their rash or wilful abandonment. We shall have occasion, in the sequel, to say a good deal more on the origin and consequences of this great derangement in our scheme of social polity.

For these, and for all the other disorders, which threaten our body politic, the popular prescription is parliamentary reform. An amendment in the representation of the Commons, we are assured, is to ease us of our taxes,—to reduce the influence of the Crown,—and to heal all breaches and heartburnings between the governors and the governed. We are rather partial to this medicine upon the whole; but it requires no ordinary skill and caution in the preparation and dosing; and, at all events, we are perfectly certain, is not capable of effecting half the wonders that are expected from it. No man of sense has any faith in universal specifics; and it is the part of an enemy, or a very pernicious friend, to degrade this useful medicine, by investing it with the attributes of a quack's *panacea*, and thus effectually to exclude it from all regular practice, as well as to discredit it in the eyes of the soberminded and judicious. While we are of opinion, therefore, that very serious and substantial good may be effected by a reform of Parliament, we think it our duty to say, that no *such* good, as seems to be in the contemplation of its present advocates, can possibly result from it; and that while the experiment itself is by no means free of danger, it would be altogether extravagant to hope, that it could deliver us from any considerable part of the evils we have enumerated.

With regard to the taxes, in the first place, it appears to us in the highest degree chimerical, to imagine that any change in the plan of representation should sensibly lessen their amount. The greater part are actually levied to pay the interest of the debts which have been contracted; and a vast proportion of the remainder is required for the maintenance of the war in which we are engaged. That war, and almost all the other wars by which our debt has been created, has hitherto been most unquestionably popular; and, it is reasonable therefore to presume, would have been carried on to at least as great an extent by a legislature more immediately under the influence of popular feelings. As to the

ſuperior economy which it has been ſuppoſed that ſuch a legiſlature would be inclined and enabled to obſerve, we will confeſs that we are unable to ſee any juſt grounds for ſuch an expectation. We are perfectly aware, that the multiplication of offices and ſalaries tends to increaſe the influence of Government; and have no doubt that, in former times, they were occaſionally multiplied for this purpoſe. Of late years, however, the quantity of influence already accumulated has been ſo great, and the burden of taxation ſo grievous, that every adminiſtration muſt have felt, that no ſlight acceſſion of ſtrength which could be gained by ſuch corrupt profuſion, could ever compenſate the loſs of popularity and of general credit which neceſſarily reſulted from an increaſe of this burden. By far the moſt effectual bribe that a miniſter can now give, is a bribe to the nation itſelf, in the form of a remiſſion, or an apparent remiſſion, of the taxes: and though there may have been an undue tenaciouſneſs in the caſe of certain old ſinecures, and certain places, the emoluments of which have increaſed beyond all calculation, we are inclined to think, upon the whole, that the obvious policy of economical meaſures, in the preſent ſtate of things, is to the full as good a ſecurity for their adoption as the warmer zeal and higher ſenſe of duty that are expected from a reformed legiſlature.

We are very much confirmed in this opinion by the ſtatement brought forward in the cloſe of laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, by one of the moſt zealous and able champions for economy and reform. In that extraordinary ſtatement, Mr Wardle no doubt held out to the country, that a ſaving might be effected in their expenditure to the amount of no leſs than ſixteen millions per annum; and came fairly forward with the items of his propoſed deductions. On looking into theſe items, however, we find that they do not conſiſt ſo much in the retrenchment of unneceſſary expenditure, as in a radical alteration of many points of our general policy. There is an article of 200,000l., indeed, ſet down for unneceſſary penſions, and offices executed by deputy; another of 70,000l. for exceſſive allowances to commiſſioners and auditors of public accounts; and two or three trifling items of a ſimilar deſcription. But the main ſaving, and indeed all that, in a national point of view, is worth attending to, is to be effected by a reduction in the number or the allowances of our army and navy. A certain proportion of the infantry and cavalry, together with all the foreign troops, and the remains of the volunteers, are to be diſcharged. No more fortifications are to be conſtructed in the country; the allowances to the militia, &c. are to be reduced; and a third part of the whole ſum deſtined for the ſupport of the navy is at once to be withdrawn. Now theſe, we need ſcarcely obſerve, are not meaſures

sures of economy, but measures of state policy; and measures upon which we venture to conjecture, that a reformed Legislature would probably be as little likely to agree with Mr Wardle as their predecessors. For our own part, at least, we are clearly and decidedly of opinion, that, if the war is to be carried on at all, both the numbers and the pay of our army ought to be increased, instead of being diminished; and that any retrenchment of the funds appropriated for the navy, must be attended with the utmost hazard. But even if we thought otherwise, and agreed entirely with Mr Wardle that the whole of the sums he has mentioned might be retrenched without danger to the public, still, as it seems impossible to maintain that they have been hitherto expended from motives of corruption, it would by no means follow, that a reformed House of Commons would see the propriety of the retrenchment. It will scarcely be pretended, that the present, or any other administration, has kept up our establishment of dragoons and foreign regiments; or has allowed unnecessary clothing to the militia; or engaged in certain plans of fortifications, from a mere profligate desire to create employments and occasions of emolument to its own friends and dependants. No fair and dispassionate man can seriously doubt, that those measures have been adopted from a sincere persuasion of their expediency or necessity; and that the money which they have cost, however injudiciously or unprofitably expended in point of fact, was set apart for services which have hitherto been thought material to the national prosperity. Although we were convinced, therefore, by Mr Wardle, of the folly of such an opinion, it could only follow from this, that we and Mr Wardle were wiser than the ministers and military men who had supposed there was a necessity for such expense, and wiser also than the successive Parliaments who had unanimously sanctioned that supposition. Now, though we were to admit that a reformed Parliament would be considerably *more honest* than an unreformed one, we are not exactly aware that it must also be considerably *wiser*. The same errors of policy, therefore, that give rise to unprofitable expense at present, may be expected to produce the same effects hereafter; nor is there any ground for thinking, that a Parliament chosen mainly on account of its good intentions, will commit fewer blunders than one selected in a great degree from a regard to its skill and its habits of business.

With regard, again, to the increasing zeal and vigilance with which a reformed Parliament may be expected to pursue those paltry peculations and base embezzlements which infect so many of our public establishments; desireable as the end is, we have great doubt if it could be compassed at all more readily by the employ-

ment of the means in question. There is already a very active spirit of scrutiny afoot against this class of offences; nor can any inducement be easily imagined more strong and effectual, than that which is now held out to perseverance. The shortest and the surest road by which a private individual can now ascend to popularity and influence, is to denounce some peculator to public justice, or to bring to light some instance of official abuse. Discoveries of this sort are now at a higher premium with us, than they ever were in the history of the world; and all the stirring principles of our nature, ambition, patriotism, party zeal, and self-interest, are already at work, to stimulate our activity, and to sharpen our sagacity, in detecting this class of offences. Nor can it be said with justice, that Parliament has thrown any great obstacle in the way of such investigations, since all the authentic and important instances of abuse have been brought to light by the labour of committees appointed with the full assent of the Legislature: and indeed it is obvious, that almost all the instances of detailed and systematic peculation, which are by far the most pernicious and extended, are of no sort of benefit to the Government, and do not tend, in any degree, to strengthen its influence. Nine tenths at least of the abuses which have recently been brought to light, were practised without its knowledge, and among a set of persons from whose attachment it could derive no kind of valuable support. Applauding, therefore, as we do most warmly, the exertions of those who would destroy these opprobrious and pestilential practices, which at once debase the character of the nation, and alienate its affections from the Government, we cannot see, in the facts or in the reason of the case, any ground for supposing that a change in our system of representation is necessary in order to repress them effectually. The Legisture, as it is now constituted, contains as many keen and experienced accusers as could well find employment in a task of this description; and there is even reason to doubt, whether the same zeal and activity would be displayed by those to whom it might be assigned in an assembly where exertions of this sort would operate less effectually as a passport to distinction.

Upon the whole, then, we are clearly of opinion, that whatever other benefits might result from a reform in Parliament, it could be of no sensible benefit to the people by lightening the burden of their taxation; and that no delusion can be greater, and in some respects more mischievous, than that which represents these two things as essentially connected with each other. To this false opinion, however, and to the pains which have been taken to disseminate it, we are perhaps indebted for a good part of the apparent zeal and activity which has lately been manifested on the subject

ject of reform, and for the dispersion of the last dregs of that degrading apathy in which the public mind appeared but a few years ago to be almost irrecoverably sunk. To this extent, erroneous as it is, the popular opinion has done good service, and prepared the way, we trust, for more just and more worthy sentiments; but mischief, and mischief of the most alarming nature, must result from the successful propagation of the doctrine itself, when pushed to the extent, and invested with the importance, which its adherents have lately assigned to it. The great body of the people never yet engaged eagerly in the pursuit of an *unattainable* object, without throwing the frame of society into disorder; though it would be mischief enough, in our apprehension, if the misguided hope were only to sink back into the base inactivity of despair.

We must observe too, before finally leaving this branch of the subject, that even if a greater retrenchment in the national expenditure could be effected, than we believe to be practicable, there would still be something unworthy in holding out this as the main object of all our political exertions, and the chief good to be expected from a parliamentary reform. Anxious as we are to cut off all that expense which is likely to minister to corruption, we are by no means partial to that sordid and illiberal economy which would grudge its gorgeousness and splendour to majesty, or even its trappings to vanity; which would mete out a meagre subsistence to the higher as well as the lower servants of the country, and calculate the value of the bodily and mental labour for which every salary was to be an equivalent. In a rich and luxurious society, a certain profuse and ostentatious expense is an indispensable part of official greatness. The means of supporting such expense, therefore, is always one of the objects of the purest and most exalted ambition; and the high functions of the state, to which that ambition, the mother and the sister of all great talent and energy, should always be directed, would be deserted and left as a roosting place for minds of a weaker wing, if they were not associated with such emoluments as to maintain their possessor in the place to which his office had exalted him. Two great evils, therefore, would result from such unwise parsimony. The most important offices in the state would be filled with persons of inferior talents; and those who were gifted with genius, despising the low and barren eminences which bounded their legal pretensions, would be apt to invade an order of things which might seem to withhold them from their rights, and employ their power in disturbing the government which might have been made instrumental to its support. The example of America illustrates both these consequences. The public functionaries

tionaries of that commonwealth are so poorly provided, that no prosperous counsellor, for instance, will accept of the office of judge; and few men of abilities will dedicate them to so unprofitable a task as the management of public affairs. Their legislature, therefore, is deficient both in talent and authority; and she has already experienced, if we are not misinformed, more than one shock, from the irregular impulse of that ambition and talent for which no adequate recompense has been provided within the pale of her constitution. If these principles are not admitted, it is impossible not to agree with Thomas Paine, that a discreet able-bodied man, equal to perform all the functions of royalty, may at any time be got for 800*l.* a year; or to deny to some later writers, that the emoluments of commanders in chief, governors and ambassadors, are far more than the just reward of their labour.

We would abolish sinecure offices, therefore, and that to a greater extent than is proposed even by Mr Wardle,—being satisfied that they are *now* not only useless, but pernicious, as well as unpopular; but we would increase the emoluments of almost all the great offices of the state, and of all those public situations to which it is for the common benefit that ambition should invite ability. These have not been raised at all in the proportion in which the expense of living, and the decent luxury of the higher orders has increased; and are, many of them, far below what is absolutely necessary to enable their possessors to live as those live with whom they are necessarily associated. It is in vain to say that the work can be got done for less money.—It will not be so well done; it will not be done with the same effect and authority; and no safe occupation will be left for those who could do it incomparably better than any less aspiring competitor. It is vain too, and worse than vain to say, that if the emoluments of high office be made considerable, men will seek such situations from a base love of these emoluments.—Men who could be actuated by such motives, would have no chance in the competition with those who were inspired with a more lofty ambition; but it is a vulgar and a gross *error* to suppose, that men in general seek for high office and political power from any sort of regard to the pitiful emoluments with which it is attended. This is the passion of underlings only, and the imputation which they justly seek to fasten on each other; but it can never attach to the masters of the state, nor to any who aspire to be ranked among its masters. There are loans and contracts, and ignoble sinecures for the lovers of wealth; but power and consequence and distinction are the only objects of those whose relish is for distinction and power. Unprincipled as many of our public men have been, we scarcely remember

remember one, since the period of the Revolution, whose ambition was alloyed with so base a passion as avarice, or who was ever suspected of coveting the toils and the perils of office for the sake of the miserable pay which is generally attached to it. Last of all, it is in vain to say, that expenses of this sort can ever affect the finances of a great nation, or that any system of economy can ever save it from a great load of taxation, so long as it has a decided passion for war, and a taste for conquest and direction. While views of ambition, of avarice, or of passion, are popular, the more popular the Government is, the more rapidly will the public expenses be accumulated; and the only effect of a rigid system of economy will be, to enable the nation to indulge in this luxury a little longer and a little more frequently. In a country like England, there could be no debt, and no burden of taxes, if there were no war; and when the problem is, to reduce the taxes, the question is not, what Government is the most economical, but what is the most pacific? A more popular Government than we possess at present, we are quite satisfied, would not be more pacific; and therefore we are quite satisfied, that no diminution of the taxes would be produced by a reform which would make our Government more popular.

So much for the supposed operation of reform in diminishing the taxes. The next point to be considered is, its operation in diminishing the influence of the Government. This influence, it must be admitted, is enormous. The king and his ministers have the disposal of several hundred thousands of offices, in the army, the navy, the church, the law, and the colonies,—the emoluments of which cannot amount to much less than twenty millions a year. Now, when it is considered that the whole male adults of the kingdom are probably under five millions, it is easy to see to what an extent the possession or expectancy of these appointments must influence the political creed of the majority. The fact accordingly is, that almost every man above the rank of a labouring mechanic, has pretensions, more or less direct or immediate, to some such appointment; and that the sentiments and conduct of a very large proportion of the people are biassed more or less directly by such considerations. Such is the amount of the evil;—and it is unfortunately as radical as it is enormous. We have taxes to the amount of seventy millions a year, which must be collected by a whole host of diligent and trust-worthy tax-gatherers. We have a navy consisting of seven or eight hundred vessels, and an army of several hundreds of regiments, which must be commanded by officers of education and accomplishment; and we have colonies scattered over both hemispheres, and containing ten times the population of the mother country. These

These vast establishments are now a part of our existence, and cannot be either abandoned or diminished;—and the consequence is, that the administration of them has transformed us into a nation of public functionaries, and placed a prodigious proportion of the whole national income in the gift of those who have the nomination of these functionaries. It is in vain to talk of abolishing the offices, or diminishing the salaries annexed to them. Almost all of the offices are now indispensably necessary; and the salaries are perhaps more frequently inadequate, than excessive. The great grievance is in the patronage, and the dependence which that patronage encourages;—and, before determining in what way this grievance is to be redressed, we must first endeavour to ascertain in what manner, and through what channels it operates.

It is a great mistake, in the first place, to suppose that it operates exclusively or even chiefly on the Legislature. Its most powerful action is upon the body of the people; in whom it naturally begets a proclivity to side with the executive, and to acquiesce in all that is done by those to whom so many of them must unfortunately look up as their patrons. The evil would remain, therefore, very nearly where it is, although the legislature could be protected from its direct action; or, rather, no regulation would substantially diminish its action on the legislature, which left those by whom the legislature is appointed subject to its full operation. In the second place, it is a still greater mistake to suppose that the danger of this influence consists in the power it gives the Sovereign, considered as an individual, and as a separate branch of the legislature, to act upon the other branches. The truth is, that this power does not belong to the king so properly, as to the majority of the House of Commons; and that it is rather by the actual *exercise* of this power, than by being subjected to its operation, that the legislature is debased and corrupted. The King exercises his patronage through the mediation of his ministers; and the definition of a minister, according to the practice of the constitution, is, not a person nominated by the King, but a person supported by two thirds of the House of Commons. The King, individually, neither is nor can be consulted in the greater part of the appointments which are made in his name; nor is it to him or his personal favour that the nominees understand that they are indebted for such appointments. The patronage, therefore, is vested substantially in the majority of the House of Commons, who can make a minister, and by whom all ministers know that they are made and continued. Now, in whatever way we conceive this assembly to be constituted, and by whatever form of election its members

bers are supposed to be returned, still, as long as men are men, and while causes and effects maintain their usual relations in application to human conduct, it cannot fail to happen, that the persons in whom this patronage is vested will often be tempted to exercise it in their own favour, or in favour of their immediate connexions. Many will side with the majority, in order to profit by the exercise of this patronage; and the majority will always endeavour to maintain itself in strength and security, by holding out the promise of this patronage to those whom it wishes either to gain over or to retain.

This is the true shape and course of the evil; and, being persuaded that it is so, we confess we see no prospect of removing, or even alleviating it by any alteration in the constitution of the House of Commons. The mischief consists in the *existence* of such a multitude of offices, and of a consequent power of appointing to them. This power, we think, is obviously vested in the majority of the House of Commons; and the whole evil consists in this, that a most powerful temptation is thus held out to the members of that House to place and to keep themselves at any rate in a majority, and to all the people out of the House, to recommend themselves to those who compose it. Now this is an evil which a change in the plan of representation would not only fail to cure, but would not, in any degree, touch or alleviate. Such a change could have no other effect but to make the House of Commons a more faithful representative of the feelings and sense of the people: But the people themselves are infected with this love of place and emolument; and the House, however elected, would still be liable to the same temptations as at present. Highly as we are disposed to estimate those qualities which confer popularity, we see no reason to think that a reformed Parliament would consist of more stern and incorruptible individuals than the present Parliament; and must be forgiven for distrusting the efficacy of all remedies, which, instead of removing the temptation, profess only to ensure the virtue which is to be exposed to them. In a large assembly of persons of a certain rank and education, if the temptations and opportunities of corruption be the same, the average amount of the corruption itself may be safely assumed as the same also. Nor does any rational person ever think of diminishing it in any other way than by diminishing the temptations and opportunities. Now, a change in the manner of electing members of Parliament could have no effect of this kind, so long as there were the same number of offices to be filled up in the country, and so long as the majority of that House had virtually the power of filling them up.

Is this great evil, then, actually without remedy? and can no means

means be devised of vesting this patronage in such a way as not to throw the whole machine of the Government off the poise by its enormous weight and impetus? While our wars and difficulties continue, we do think that there is no effectual remedy. The only radical cure is by the gradual alterative of a reduction of our debt and establishments; and the only palliative in the mean time, is in the increasing intelligence and spirit of the people. The difficulty of the case consists in this, that if Parliament has a controul over those public appointments, it must be corrupted by the perversion of this power; and if it has no such controul, then there must be lodged, in some quarter, a power paramount to all other powers in the Government, and yet subject to no responsibility or constitutional check whatsoever. The only remedy that has occurred to us, is to break down this patronage, as much as possible, into separate and detached portions, and to vest these in local assemblies,—to let counties and parishes, in short, choose their own tax-gatherers, clergy, and magistrates,—and thus to diminish the mass and quantity of the patronage in the disposal of the general administration. The remedy, we are aware, is extremely inadequate, both because it would not at all diminish that general scramble for office which strikes at the root of independence throughout the country, and because no part of the naval, military, or colonial appointments, could possibly be filled up in this manner. It would also be attended with great inconvenience from the local prejudices and partialities to which it might give occasion; but still the evil arising from the monstrous patronage of the Government is so great and alarming, that we should be well pleased to see this remedy applied to it, with such precautions and limitations, as would readily suggest themselves in digesting any practical scheme.

Before leaving this subject, it is necessary to observe, that *there is* an actual corrective to this cardinal vice of our constitution, which palliates its pernicious consequences, in so far, as to make it consistent with a great degree of liberty. If this enormous patronage were vested in any permanent and distinct branch of the Government, which always retained the same interests and inclinations, it is impossible, we conceive, that it should not, long ago, have destroyed the whole liberties of the nation, and established itself into an absolute and uncontroulable authority. The fact is, however, that it is vested in the majority of a divided assembly; and that while the patronage itself remains undiminished and unaltered, there is another division of that assembly, into whose hands it is constantly liable to be transferred. Now, among the considerations which are able to transmute a minority into a majority of that house, the most important and operative,

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no doubt, is an apprehension of resistance or disorder among the people; and accordingly, when the leaders of an existing majority are tempted to employ their influence to do any thing very unjust or oppressive, a considerable part of their followers will naturally go over to the other side, and the opposition will be converted into an administration, and obtain possession of the whole vast influence of their predecessors, with an impressive warning as to the hazard of relying too far upon it. It is thus that the existence of a strong opposition, which is sure to be recruited by every unpopular act of the Government, serves to keep the administration under a salutary restraint; and that the vast weight of national patronage, though it does render the machine of Government topheavy and unmanageable, is prevented, by the constant fluctuation of its pressure, from oversetting it altogether, or crushing the liberties of the people under its perpetual obliquity.

In addition to this constitutional fragility of ministerial power, the natural mortality of the Sovereign may be regarded as a further security against the preponderating weight of state patronage. Though the efficient power be evidently lodged in the House of Commons, the personal inclination or dispositions of the reigning Monarch are by no means without their influence. From natural and obvious causes, it almost always happens, that the heir-apparent belongs to a different party in politics from that which is habitually trusted by the Sovereign on the throne; and the constant hazard of a demise serves still further to restrain the existing administration in the exercise of the vast influence, which they hold by a tenure so precarious. If it were not for the constant operation of these two internal correctives, we conceive that the constitution could not long sustain the pressure of this grievous and growing infirmity. If an administration were to be formed so popular and commanding, as, after a long course of successful contentions, to annihilate, or very greatly to reduce, the strength of opposition,—and if, along with this unnatural *fixity* in the state of Parliamentary power, the reigning Monarch and the heir apparent were to concur cordially in their choice of men and measures,—it is scarcely possible to imagine, how the liberties and independence of the people should be enabled to withstand the constant mining and insidious action of the vast influence which would then flow, in one steady and undeviating current, against the foundations of their freedom. In such a situation, a rebellion might be excited among the lower people, by open oppression; and a violent revolution might throw off the heavy load of corruption and tyranny: but the constitution itself would be lost and overthrown, and the overgrown power of the government would have extinguished the last sparks of legitimate freedom.

Thus

Thus much it may suffice to say as to the two most imminent and palpable evils, which some sanguine patriots have expected to remove by a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament. There remains a third, and a more fundamental, though less conspicuous evil, as to which there may be room perhaps for a different prognosis. This we have already described, in a general way, as consisting in the monopoly of political power which the course of events had thrown into the hands of an inadequate part of the people, and the consequent jealousy and disaffection of the remainder. It is necessary, however, to explain, more particularly, our impression as to the origin, magnitude, and probable effects of this disorder.

In doing this, we must beg leave to refer our readers to certain general remarks which we formerly * took occasion to make on the distinctive characters of new and of old governments, and the advantages and disadvantages of each respectively. In all new governments, superior fitness and ability are the sole recommendations to office and employments. In old governments, hereditary wealth and rank are apt to have too great an influence. The former, therefore, are commonly administered with more vigour and ability; but the latter are, for the most part, more stable and secure. This advantage they derive from the natural tendency of the influence derived from wealth, to settle and consolidate into a sort of patriarchal chieftainship, which gains strength by descent and duration; while the influence derived from mere personal talents or accomplishments, necessarily perishes with the individual by whom they were possessed. An old government is a mass made up of a congeries of little circles, each of which has its own fixed centre and point of radiation. Every county, and district, and parish and village, has its settled heads and leaders, through whom, as their natural organ, their sentiments and wishes are made known, and by whose influence they may be generally impressed with the wishes and sentiments of others. All the little springs and fountains of political power, have worn themselves deep and permanent channels; and are reunited into certain great currents, which hold their course with undeviating regularity, and maintain the freshness and fertility of the land without danger or disturbance. Such is the state of things, in a certain stage, of all free governments; but it is easy to see, even without the aid of experience, that the very foundations of this tranquillity are liable to be completely subverted.

There are only two sources of influence in society—personal gifts

* See vol. X. p. 11, 12, &c.

gifts and accomplishments—and property. The first, of course, affords in itself the best title to preeminence; but wealth can be transmitted to a successor, and can be accumulated—while virtue and talents cannot. In the progress of society, therefore, the one kind of influence is constantly acquiring strength, while the other is necessarily stationary;—and thus the aristocracy of personal merit is gradually supplanted, or at least overtopped, by the aristocracy of hereditary wealth. This is the first step in the history of civilized society. Crowns become hereditary; Generals do not fight their way up from the ranks; and men succeed to certain honours and privileges, without the pretext of having earned them by their own exertions.

In rude and simple times, when the duties of rulers and statesmen are easy, and when luxury holds out no temptation to inaction, men who are thus born to command are usually sufficiently fitted for it. They monopolize almost all the instruction and education of the age; and having no other objects of ambition or enjoyment but those which are set before them by their duty, they generally unite both the influence of wealth and of merit, and maintain a tranquil and unquestioned supremacy over their natural inferiors. Such was the state of things in the main, during the prevalence of the feudal system, in modern Europe; and it was in this state that all those usages and prejudices and habitual notions took their rise, the clash of which with another form of society, is at this moment holding that quarter of the world in convulsions. It is to this point that we wish particularly to direct the attention of our readers.

After the whole people of Europe had thus been separated into the two great classes of the gentry or nobility, who engrossed the whole political power—and the peasantry or common people, who had no share in that power—two great changes were gradually and silently effected in the interior structure of society. In the first place, the privileged orders were seduced by luxurious inventions into a very general neglect of the accomplishments which alone could fit them for the situations, now become more important than ever, which they still continued to monopolize; and, in the second place, the common people, by a great improvement in their education and circumstances, came to acquire a large share of that intelligence, and skill and ambition, which was formerly engrossed by their chieftains. Being infinitely superior in numbers, it will easily be understood, that when their education and opportunities came to be nearly alike, they should produce a greater number of able and distinguished persons than the class of the nobility; and thus a new aristocracy of merit arose, which was opposed in a good degree to the old aristocracy of wealth or rank, and threatened to supplant or eclipse it.

This

This is the true history of the French revolution; and of all the other revolutions, by which such of the nations of the Continent, as escape the yoke of a military despotism, are obviously destined (though, we hope, without bloodshed or dissension) to be regenerated. One of their own writers, in speaking of the former event, says, with some quaintness, and much truth, that its true cause is to be found in the '*plenitude du merite de Tiers Etat.*' The genius and ambition of those who were excluded from the exercise of political power, had come to be so much greater than that of those who monopolized it, that, at last, it burst forcibly through the barriers which had been set up to confine it, and overthrew the whole frame of the Government by which it had been so long and so unwisely neglected. The sum, then, of the whole general doctrine is this,—that all governments are virtually of the nature of aristocracies; and that aristocracies are of two sorts,—that of personal merit, and that of rank or hereditary wealth. In order to make any Government secure and peaceful, these two aristocracies must be *united;* and as, in former times, this was effected by the superior skill, valour, and accomplishment of the hereditary chieftains, so it seems as if it could only be accomplished, now that this superiority has ceased, by their yielding up a large share of political power to those who have become their equals in all kinds of personal endowments.

These observations apply, in all their extent, to the nations of the Continent only; and our business is chiefly with England. Yet we have chosen to state them in this broad and general manner, in order to convey to our readers a more clear and simple idea of that great European distemper, with which, it appears to us, that this country also is afflicted, though in a much slighter degree than its neighbours. With us, too, the people are getting as wise as their rulers; and, ceasing already to recognize any real superiority in those to whom they had been accustomed to look up with implicit confidence, they begin to feel that distrust and dissatisfaction with the actual aristocracy which has burst out into such fatal disorders in some other countries. The old leaders of the nation, on the other hand, are by no means sufficiently aware, either of the intelligence, the discontent, or the ambition of the lower and middling orders; and are disposed to repress, what they consider as accidental turbulence or ill humour, by a high and haughty assertion of their own power and authority. Though men of low birth are not systematically excluded from any situation in this country, it is perfectly well known, not only that there is a very narrow and jealous monopoly of all posts of importance, but that there is a very great want of sympathy between the people and their rulers; and that little deference

deference is paid to public opinion, except when it threatens to indicate itself in tumult and disorder.

The nature of this monopoly was explained at some length on a former occasion;* and may be stated in a very few words. The nomination to all high offices is substantially in the majority of the House of Commons; and this majority can only be maintained, by using this patronage, among other things, in such a way as to give satisfaction to those of whom it is composed. In consequence of long hereditary connexion, and other causes which need not be explained, certain individuals have obtained the power, not only of securing their own election as members of this assembly, but of securing the election of several of their friends also. When the ministry, therefore, is confronted, as it almost always is, by a pretty strong minority, it is obviously in the power of a very small number of their adherents to make what terms they please as to the filling up of any of the great appointments in the nation. If two or three of these powerful individuals concur in recommending any person, however slenderly qualified, to any situation, however important, and that under the condition of deserting the ministry if their recommendation be not attended to,—it is obvious that in almost all cases it must be attended to, and that there can be no free choice or competition either to the government or the people. The fact is, accordingly, that almost all the great offices of the state are monopolized by a few great families; and that, if there be any member of them possessed of talents to discharge their duties with any tolerable degree of decency, a claim is sure to be made in his behalf, which, from the nature of the government, has almost the force of a command.

With regard, again, to the obvious want of sympathy and communication between the people and their rulers, and the mingled discontent and contempt which naturally arises, on both sides, from this unconstitutional estrangement; this is owing, we believe, in a very great degree, to the actual ignorance of the most forward and stirring part of our public functionaries with regard to the real sentiments, as well as the intelligence and temper, of the people. Living constantly in the metropolis,—engaged perpetually with their schemes and intrigues,—and communicating with the people only through those dangerous *middlemen* who pretend to dispose of elections, it is not wonderful that they should want leisure and opportunity to make themselves acquainted with the state of public opinion, or that they should regard its expression as an ungrateful interference with their peculiar privileges. When the public business of a country is much accumulated, and conse-

* Vol. X. p. 14, &c.

quently much ſubdivided, there is nothing perhaps which makes a man more ſhallow and arrogant, than to be wholly engaged in it; and it is, we believe, very much owing to the multiplication of thoſe pert, practiſed, and narrow-minded politicians, that that repulſive tone of contempt has been adopted towards the people, which has been repaid, upon their ſide, with retorted ſcorn and reſentment.

Such, we conceive, are a few of the general cauſes which have led, in the natural courſe of things, to that monopoly of power and that popular diſcontent which have been produced, by ſimilar cauſes, to a much greater extent in ſome of the neighbouring nations. There are certain peculiarities, however, in our recent hiſtory, and in the aſpect of the preſent times, which have prodigiouſly aided their natural operation in our caſe, and accelerated the effect which might otherwiſe have come upon us in a form leſs alarming. The cauſes of diſunion which we have already noticed, are involved in the very nature of our government, and in ſome degree in the conſtitution of modern ſociety. Thoſe which we are about to enumerate may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as extrinſic and accidental.

There is, in the *firſt* place, the effect of the French revolution, which has had a twofold operation on the people and on the government of this country. In the first place, by exciting a great dread of popular insurrection, and a great zeal in favour of royalty and high birth, and all kinds of antient establishments and dignities, it encouraged the government to assume a higher tone, and to comport itself towards the people in a more imperious manner, than would either have been ventured upon, or endured, under other circumstances. Now, though the nation has got rid of the panic and the zeal which produced this innovation, the government is unwilling to abate of the jealous and commanding tone to which it had become accustomed during the prevalence of these feelings. The second effect of this great event has been, to render hereditary rank and pretension less imposing and respectable than formerly in the eyes of the people. The diadem of Bonaparte has dimmed the lustre of all the antient crowns of Europe; and her nobles have been outshone, and outgeneralled, and outnegotiated, by men raised by their own exertions from the common level of the populace. The antient and hereditary rulers of states, in short, have made but a poor figure in the contest with their plebeian antagonists; and it is impossible that the people of this country should have been spectators of the struggle, without feeling an abatement of that habitual veneration for rank and dignity, which is still a considerable ingredient in their loyalty and submission. Their apprehension of this effect, has led the injudicious

dicious part of our aristocracy, and the base and more numerous herd of their underlings, to attempt to counteract it, by a more than ordinary share of arrogance and presumption.

The *second* aggravation of this constitutional disorder, may be referred to the unusual duration of Mr Pitt's administration, and to the circumstances under which the present ministry assumed and have maintained their situations. We conceive it to be essential to the purity of the English constitution, that no ministry should remain very long in office. For the time they are in, they degrade their opponents throughout the nation to the condition of the plebeian orders in the old tyrannical governments of the Continent, by a systematical exclusion from all posts of honour and dignity; and are only prevented, by the precariousness of their tenure, from adopting towards them in common society all those insolent airs of superiority which the noblesse of old France used to practise towards such as were not noble. If an administration last very long, something of this kind must infallibly grow up even in this country; and some of our readers may remember, that there was an approach to it during the time of Mr Pitt's greatest popularity. Lord Sidmouth's administration, and the shortlived ministry of Lord Grenville, gave a check to this tone of proscription; but the sudden conversion of the most insignificant minority which has existed since the Revolution, into the most confident and imperious ministry that ever existed in England, has renewed the alarms of all who look beyond the hour that lies before them. The present administration is evidently a continuation of that which was directed by Mr Pitt; and the result of the two short attempts to supplant it, almost authorises us to conclude, that it is *impossible* to keep out a ministry which has been long in power, and has retained the personal favour of the Sovereign. Though driven repeatedly from their posts by the public scorn or indignation, they have only to wait till some blunder or disaster shake the popularity of their sucessors, and may reckon upon being brought back in triumph with the whole train of their dependants. Whatever evils and inconveniences, therefore, attend a very long administration, either from the greater narrowness of their monopoly, the increased insolence of their tone, or their more habitual alienation from the sentiments of the people, may be expected to become apparent in our actual circumstances, and to aggravate those discontents which spring from causes still more radical.

The *third* accidental source of our dissensions, may be traced to the sudden disappearance of most of the great and popular characters by whom the nation had been long accustomed to be guided; and the succession of a race of men who are generally

acknowledged to be unequal to the mighty tasks which have been assigned to them. With all the growing intelligence and discontent and presumption of the lower and middling orders, they were still held in awe by the genius and established superiority of those men. The body of the nation relied implicitly on their wisdom; and their very errors were respected even by those who had the courage to expose them. Of late, however, the government has fallen into the hands of persons who are less known and less respected;—whose names carry nothing venerable with them to ennoble submission, and nothing commanding to overawe turbulence. Though their gifts and their popular qualities are far inferior to those of their predecessors, their pretensions are at least as lofty, and expressed in a manner still more haughty and revolting. Nor is it a thing to be wondered at, if a people, disposed at any rate to call in question the authority of its rulers, should feel more than usual discontent when delivered into the hands of men who have no place in *either* aristocracy—of rank or of talents; and who, without the aid of general popularity, or the support of extensive connexions, have taken possession of the government on the strength of a certain clerk-like alacrity and thoroughgoing confidence—of accommodating consciences, and habits of courtly compliance. The great complication and increase of the national business, has given rise, in our times, to this new generation of public men. But they have hitherto been subservient to the actual rulers of the state; and the era of their accession to immediate power, could scarcely fail to be marked with the symptoms of popular dissatisfaction.

The *last* peculiar or temporary cause of our national disunion, is the extraordinary peril of the times in which we live, and the signal want of success with which almost all our public measures have been attended. In ordinary times, it is little more than a labour of honour to administer public affairs, and a matter nearly of indifference by whom they are administered. In such times, a polished and intelligent nation in reality governs itself; and the office of prime minister may be fairly sought by, and safely yielded to any man of popular manners, and ordinary skill in business. But, when the state of a people comes to be full of hazard and difficulty—when every blunder is big with incalculable danger, and the want of consummate judgment threatens to involve every individual in ruin—it then becomes utterly intolerable that a post of such responsibility should be given up to presumptuous mediocrity,—or the imminent peril of twenty millions of men be made a stake for conceited selfishness, or low party passion, to play for. Even those who are most inclined, by nature and habit, to acquiesce in established systems, and to trust to official wisdom, are roused,

ed, at such a season, to inquire a little into the qualifications of their rulers, and to murmur against that most atrocious of all abuses, by which incapacity is allowed to drivel in the place where genius herself might falter and grow pale. When the people look to the condition to which they are now brought, and the lamentable issue of the many proud promises which their rulers have made to them in the course of the contest;—when they look back upon the whole foreign policy of England for these last twenty years —upon that strange and humiliating scene of improvidence, inconsistency, insolence, and paltry rapacity—that sad series of preposterous hopes and discreditable disappointments—that sickening alternation of boasting and disgrace, of blustering apologies, rash councils, and tardy performance;—when they look back upon all these things, and recollect that their affairs are still in the guidance of the remnant of these unprosperous counsellors, by whom they have been so often deceived;—is it not reasonable to expect, that their incredible credulity should at last be exhausted, and that they should begin to ask, whether there is not in the nation some better judgment, and cooler temper, to save them in the crisis of their fate? It is needless, for our present purpose, to speak of the policy which has been pursued as to Ireland, or of the melancholy mixture of rashness and irresolution, of dread and of defiance of public opinion, which has been exhibited in some late proceedings of the Government. Enough has been said to show, that the dangers of the country, and the long train of disappointments which she has purchased at so great a price, must have excited a pretty general distrust and disrespect for its rulers, even if there had not been causes of a more general nature to produce this alienation.

Such, as it appears to us, are the leading circumstances, both general and particular, which have led to the great political malady under which we now labour—the monopoly of political power by too small a part of the nation, and the consequent discontent of the greater number. Two miserable consequences result from this evil. In the first place, affairs are administered with much less wisdom and judgment, than if the public servants were chosen, on account of their serviceable qualities, from the whole body of the nation. In the second place, there is evident danger of disorder among the people themselves, and a certainty of their being lukewarm in the service of Government, even where the national security may call on them for the greatest exertions. The evil, therefore, which we have spent so much time in describing, is such as calls imperiously for a remedy.

There can be little doubt, we humbly conceive, that the governing part of the nation is, upon the whole, worse qualified

for the task it has to perform, than any other description of persons within it. In all other departments of intellectual exertion, we have among us inſtances of unrivalled talent, dexterity and ſucceſs; and the body of the people, we verily believe, contains a greater maſs of ſound judgment, varied intelligence, and original genius, than any other people that ever exiſted. Our political artiſans, however, are by no means of the ſame degree of excellence; and, in ſpite of the great demand which the circumſtances of the times have created for this kind of talent, it is obvious that the ſupply has recently been very inadequate. When this is the caſe, political economiſts tell us, we may conclude at once that there is ſome undue monopoly of the ſources from which it ſhould be derived; and the inveſtigation in which we have juſt been engaged, ſeems to juſtify the concluſion in this inſtance. The true cure, then, for this part of the evil—to deſcribe it in general terms—is to put an end to this monopoly; to multiply the points of contact between the wiſdom which is in the people, and that which is actually employed in the conduct of their affairs; to enlarge the intellectual communication between the nation and its rulers; and thus to enable the knowledge and the talent that are in the country to act upon the mechaniſm by which its buſineſs is performed. For the other part of the evil, it is equally eaſy to indicate the general deſcription of the remedy. It muſt conſiſt in a change of tone in the government, and in the greater part of thoſe who aim at political influence in the country,—ſuch a change only as may ſhow that there is a ſincere deſire to conciliate, and to act along with the great body of the people; that they are not looked upon either with contempt or diſtruſt; and that their right to think and to feel for the ſituation of the country is ſeriouſly and cordially recognized.

All this, we admit, is very vague;—and yet, if there were a general and ſincere diſpoſition to reduce it to practice, very little difficulty, we believe, would be experienced. Our popular reformers are undoubtedly far more ſpecific. They are for cutting off the rotten burghs, enlarging the elective franchiſe, and ſhortening the duration of parliament; by which operations, they contend, that the people will at once be reconciled to the government, and the government be rendered cordial to the people. Now, though we are infinitely leſs ſanguine as to the effects of ſuch meaſures, and are ſatisfied, indeed, that the whole of what is now propoſed could not be attempted without the greateſt danger, we are ſtill ready to admit, that the expectations of benefit from a parliamentary reform, are much leſs chimerical with a view to the great evil of which we have been ſpeaking, than as to any of the other effects which have been anticipated from it.

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We have always profeſſed to be on the whole friendly to ſuch a reform; and if the people be generally deſirous of it, we think the time is come when it ought to be no longer withheld. We do not think that it will produce a parliament materially different in its character or compoſition from that which now exiſts; and we ſhall ſtate, in the ſequel, the reaſons why we ſhould dread the idea of any material difference. But it will do good, we think, in two important particulars. In the firſt place, it will tend to raiſe the importance of the people in general, and to maintain and exercise in them that feeling of citizenship and political duty, which is ſo apt to be loſt in a commercial country; although it is upon it *alone* that all rational freedom muſt ultimately repoſe. In the ſecond place, the mere granting of a boon to which ſo much importance has been (perhaps foolishly) attached, will be a pledge of the confidence and cordiality with which they are regarded by their ſuperiors, and will go far to diſpel the jealous and hoſtile feelings which ſo many other cauſes have lately gendered between them.

As to the kind or the quantity of reform which we think may be ſafely granted for thoſe purpoſes, it will ſcarcely be expected that we ſhould preſume to lay any ſpecific propoſition before our readers. The moſt obvious fault in our preſent ſyſtem of repreſentation, is its great and glaring *inequality*. In ſome places, five men returning two members,—in others fifty thouſand: Here, a burgh of twenty hovels having its full ſhare of repreſentation,—there, two or three large and proſperous towns not repreſented at all. Now, though we would not altogether deſtroy this inequality, which produces good as well as bad effects on the whole, we certainly think that it ought to be diminiſhed, and a certain approach made to uniformity in the exerciſe of ſo valuable a right. We would not ſcruple, therefore, to take away the right of electing from ſeveral cloſe and ſeveral decayed burghs, and to give more members to ſeveral populous diſtricts. The pecuniary qualification of the electors ought, at the ſame time, to be ſomewhat raiſed, eſpecially in the open burghs; but to compenſate this, it ought to be eſtimated in the counties, as well as elſewhere, not merely by property or intereſt *in land*, but by property of all ſorts, or rather, perhaps, by the payment of taxes to a certain amount,—paying a due tribute to the ſuperior weight and reſpectability of the landed intereſt, by making the qualification lower for them than for other proprietors. Some regulations ſhould alſo be adopted for avoiding the tumult and diſorder which now diſgrace our moſt popular elections, and which have inſpired many worthy people with a general horror at the very name of a popular reform. Something may be learned in this reſpect from

the practice of America, where, by means of *written* votes, collected and authenticated by a very simple process, the elections are conducted, in that country of universal suffrage and ferocious faction, without the smallest tendency to disorder. If this could be accomplished with us, it would certainly remove one very strong objection to shortening the duration of parliament.

Such a reform as this, we are convinced, might be effected with perfect safety; and, we make no doubt, with considerable benefit to the country. Its beneficial effects, however, we are persuaded, would be confined to the points we have just mentioned. It would not materially touch the state of taxation or of influence:—and as for altering the composition of the House of Commons, by excluding from it all who are sent there by the interest of the ministry or of noble families, we can only say, that if we believed it at all likely to produce such an effect, we should think it our duty to strive against it, as against a measure which would deprive us of all the practical blessings of our constitution.

We took the liberty, on a former occasion,* to say a good deal upon this subject; and after observing that the whole substantial power of the Government was now manifestly vested in the House of Commons, we proceeded to shew that the balance of the constitution was preserved, and could only be preserved, by being transferred into that House; where a certain proportion of the influence of the Crown and of the great families of the land, was advantageously, though somewhat irregularly, mingled with the proper representation of the people. The expediency, and indeed the necessity of this arrangement, we should humbly conceive, must be manifest to all who will but consider the distractions and dreadful convulsions that would ensue, if the three branches of the Legislature were really to be kept apart in their practical operations, and to check and controul each other, not by an infusion of their elementary principles into all the measures of each, but by working separately to thwart or undo what had been undertaken by the other, without any means of concert or cooperation.

In the first place, it is perfectly obvious, that if the House of Commons, with its absolute power over the supplies, and its connexion with the physical force of the nation, were to be composed entirely of the representatives of the yeomanry of the counties and the tradesmen of the burghs, and were to be actuated solely by the feelings and interests which are peculiar to that class of men, it would infallibly convert the government into a mere democracy, and speedily sweep away the incumbrance of Lords and Commons, who could not exist at all therefore, if they had

* Vol. X. p. 411, 412, &c.

had not an influence in this assembly. But even supposing that this consequence would not immediately follow, is it not obvious, in the second place, that if the House of Lords and the Sovereign had no means of influencing the determination of the Commons within their own walls, they could only controul them in the exercise of their legislative function, by throwing out or negativing the bills which had been passed by the unanimous assent of that House?—Now, there is no man, we believe, who can hesitate as to the consequences of such a mode of controul as this. If the House of Commons were to send up a series of popular bills which were successively negatived by the Sovereign, the consequence would *infallibly* be, an insurrection and a civil war:—and if, on the other hand, he were to pass, as a matter of course, every bill which had been voted by a great majority of that House, at the same time that he and his servants had no influence over their deliberations, the controul of the executive would be utterly lost and abandoned; and the government, as we have already said, would be changed into a virtual republic. It seems to us to be a matter of necessity, therefore, that the Crown should have a certain influence in the House of Commons. That of the nobility is still less irregular. In point of fact, indeed, the nobility of England are no longer distinguishable, as to their *interests*, from her opulent commoners; nor is there any intelligible ground for excluding the influence of the one, more than that of the other. If it be true, indeed, that the whole force of the government actually resides in the House of Commons, which we take to be obvious to every one who will take the pains to reflect upon it; it follows, that the Nobility, as well as the Crown, must either have something to say in its deliberations, or must have nothing to say in the government. Their separate functions serve other purposes indeed; but, acting in these, they could exercise no effectual controul over the Commons, though they might provoke them to their destruction.

These propositions might be copiously illustrated by the whole history of the English government, ever since the increasing weight and consequence of the Commons gave them an effective power in the proceedings of the Legislature. While the Sovereign lived on his Royal demesnes, and wars were supported by knights' service;—while there were scarcely any taxes, and the business of legislation was settled in a few days in each year, the House of Commons had little to do but to vote a scanty supply, and sometimes to accompany it by a remonstrance of no terror nor authority. The Sovereign, in the first place, could do without the supply, if it should be actually withheld; in the second place, he could levy what he pleased, in a variety of ways, without the consent of that assembly; and, finally, he and his nobles and their retainers, for whose equipment it

was

was wanted, could at any time easily overbear the whole House of Commons and their constituents, and compel them to yield whatever was demanded. This state of things lasted till the time of Henry the Eighth, or Elizabeth; down to which period the constitution of England actually consisted of the separate and uncompounded elements of King, Lords, and Commons, each acting upon a view of its peculiar interest. The growing importance of the Commons, and the wants of the Government, made a practical change necessary in the reign of the Stewarts; and the attempt to adhere to the theory of the constitution produced the destruction of the monarchy and the death of the King. Mr Laing, in his late accurate and profound history, has pointed out this distinctly as the cause of these unhappy convulsions. The King, he observes, ruined himself and the country, by standing on his prerogative, and neglecting the means of influencing the Parliament. He made various efforts, indeed, to seduce and gain over the most formidable of the popular leaders in that assembly; but he chose, most absurdly, to proclaim his triumph, by making them immediately desist from that occupation, and enlisting them as the open advocates of his prerogative. Instead of submitting to receive the popular leaders as his ministers, and in this way bringing all the weight of the Royal influence to bear through that commanding channel upon the Parliament, he never promoted them to office till they had lost all power and popularity by an avowed desertion to the separate party of the King; and thus, by allowing the Commons to carry every thing before them in their own House, and then opposing the naked walls of his prerogative to the full shock of that unbridled current, he invited a contest, that, even in those days, proved ruinous to himself and to the constitution. The same principle of misgovernment, aided indeed by baser practices on a baser generation, lasted down till the Revolution; when, as is universally acknowledged, the true principles of the constitution were first recognized, and the reign of *influence* and regular freedom began.

With these impressions, then, not only of the harmlessness, but of the vital necessity of a certain infusion of Royal and aristocratical influence in that assembly which virtually engrosses the whole power of the Legislature, it will easily be understood, that we have no great indulgence for those notions of reform, which seem to be uppermost in the minds of some of its warmest supporters; and that we should consider such a change in the constitution of that House, as Sir Francis Burdett and Mr Cobbett appear to think essential to its purity, as by far the greatest calamity which could be inflicted upon us by our own hands. These very able and eloquent persons, too, we observe, are fully aware of the consequences which we have endeavoured to connect with such

such an alteration; and, indeed, it is very remarkable, that both of them regard the revival or active development of the King's prerogative, as an important part of that beneficial reform, which they think would be effected by purging the Commons' House of all admixture of Royal or aristocratical influence. Mr Cobbett talks repeatedly of the irregularity of Parliament interfering with the King's choice of his ministers, with which, he says, they have no more to do, than with the choice of his running footmen; and Sir Francis Burdett, in the speech which is before us, is reported, we observe, to have insisted very largely upon the benefits to be derived from restoring to the Sovereign the prerogative of determining what burghs should be allowed to return members to Parliament, and which should be deprived of that privilege. It is obvious, therefore, that they see clearly, that if this influence is to be destroyed in the House of Commons, it *must* either be renewed in the shape of prerogative, or the kingly and aristocratical elements must be altogether discharged from the constitution. It does strike us, we will confess, with astonishment, to find persons, of the force of mind and the knowledge of the gentlemen in question, seriously inculcating such strange and tremendous doctrine. To set the Sovereign of this country again to stand upon his prerogative, and to meet the encroachments of a democratical House of Commons, with no other aid than a set of ministers appointed without any connexion with that House, would be to expose the monarchy and the constitution to a fate infinitely more certain and terrible than that which fell upon them in the time of King Charles; while to allow *him* or his ministers to say, at every election, from what places members should or should not be sent, would evidently be to make *all* the burghs in the kingdom treasury burghs,—and, in fact, to place the whole body of the legislature under the absolute power of the executive. We find it difficult to believe that men of distinguished talents should be actually imposed upon by absurdities so glaring:—but it is yet more difficult and more painful to believe, that without being imposed upon, they should be capable of maintaining them to the public, even for the purpose of forwarding what they consider to be a patriotic object.

If we apprehended, therefore, that the House of Commons would be freed from all but popular influence, by making the scheme of representation more comprehensive and more consistent, we should certainly be vehement against any such change in its present constitution. We have no fears, however, on this head; and are perfectly satisfied, that so long as the administration retains any considerable share of its present patronage, and so long as the great families retain their popularity and riches, there

there will always be a due proportion of their influence to prevent that omnipotent assembly from being guided by the feelings of only one class of the community. There is a very tolerable proportion of that influence even among the *county* members of the Parliament as it now stands,—such a proportion, perhaps, as would be sufficient for the average of the whole House:—and by raising the qualification of an elector, both in the counties and in the burghs, this aristocratical influence would be made rather greater over the whole kingdom, than it now is in the counties.

The only difficulty with which it appears to us that this great question is attended, arises from the circumstance of this interference of the Crown and the Nobility in the representation of the Commons, not being *avowed* or *regulated* by the public law of the land. It is practised in a sort of covert and underhand manner; and this gives an appearance of guiltiness to the thing itself, which naturally embarrasses those who are called on to defend it, and excites a natural apprehension of its danger and illegality. If the thing, however, be proved to be actually beneficial, the argument drawn from appearances and presumptions must be admitted to be sufficiently answered. But the truth is, that there is a twofold reason for those appearances—one drawn from history, the other from a feeling of expediency. The exercise of this influence was gradually resorted to by the King and the nobles, as their only defence against the annihilation with which they were threatened by the formidable increase of the popular power; and it was naturally practised in secret, that it might not be defeated by the interference of that great rival. Even after it came to be universally known and recognized in practice, it was not thought either necessary or safe to subject it to any formal regulation, both because this could not be done without distinctly acknowledging it as a legal and constitutional practice in itself, and because it was of such a nature that no limitation, which admitted at all of its existence, could possibly be effectual. To have attempted to limit the amount of this influence, therefore, would really have been to increase and encourage it beyond the bounds which necessity had assigned to it. If the King were allowed openly to return ten members, and the nobility as many, the only consequence would be, that they would obtain those twenty members *beyond* what they now have, and get the present number more easily elected into the bargain. It would be like a permission to smuggle a certain quantity of any commodity, or to publish a certain number of libels in the year; the infallible consequence of which would be, to increase the average quantity of smuggling and of defamation by all that quantity. If there be a contraband, therefore, that is necessary to the comfort of the country, or a certain quantity of reviling that must

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have vent, the wiser policy is, to keep up the law, and connive at its violation within certain limits. It is a breach of privilege to publish the speeches of members of Parliament; yet it is highly proper, and, we will say, necessary to the freedom of the country, that they should generally be published. It has not been thought necessary, however, to recognize this right in a formal manner; but the practice is commonly connived at,—at the same time that a power is retained of repressing it, when it may appear to be tending to any abuse; the reason is, as in the case before us, that it might be dangerous to grant an unlimited sanction, and that it is impossible to fix on a just limitation. It is equally criminal, in a political point of view, to give a seat or a vote out of gratitude for personal favours, or out of deference to a parent, or affection for a son, as it is to give them for a sum of money. The gradations by which motives of this kind slide into mere subserviency or venality, are too fine to be made the subject of regulation; and a tacit permission of what is inevitable, is found to be the best way of retaining the power of checking what may be prevented.

It is not easy to resolve to conclude, on a theme so copious and so interesting; but there is one remark, which is a necessary qualification, and key, and conclusion, to all that we have said, or should wish to say on the subject. The people must be the keepers of their own freedom. Nobody else either can or will keep it for them. All governments have a tendency to become arbitrary; and all legislative assemblies, whether elected or hereditary, have a similar propensity. The *only* check to the encroachments of power, and the oppressions of inceptive tyranny, is the spirit, the intelligence, the vigilance, the prepared *resistance*, of the people. A king with a single regiment of body-guards, might, and most certainly would, make himself absolute, if he did not know that, on the first or the second instance of oppression, his thousand men would be set upon and torn to pieces by many thousands of his irritated people. It is the same feeling which prevents all parliaments from declaring themselves perpetual, and all ministers from making themselves vizirs. The main point, then, is to keep alive this spirit, this intelligence, this alacrity of observation, this determination to resist oppression by force, if necessary: and the chief constitutional use of parliaments and elections, and all the machinery and apparatus of Government, is to afford occasions and incitements for the exercise and display of all these qualities. While the nation retains its curiosity and interest about public events—while there are men of all parties and all sorts of opinions in Parliament—while there is publicity and freedom of speech there and throughout the country, we have no fear of losing our liber-

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ties; or even of any serious attempt being made to infringe them. However constituted, and even however corrupt, no Parliament would *dare* to rouse the indignation of the people. We have had recent and comfortable examples of the terrible force of their opinion; and, while we would eagerly patronize every scheme of reform which has a tendency to increase their spirit, their knowledge and their self-estimation, we must consider every thing that has not this tendency as of very subordinate importance.

ART. II. *An Account of the Empire of Marocco, and the District of Suse. Compiled from Miscellaneous Observations made during a long residence in, and various Journies through these Countries. To which is added, an accurate and interesting Account of Tombuctoo, the great Emporium of Central Africa.* By James Grey Jackson, Esq. Illustrated with Engravings. London. 4to. pp. 303. Printed for the Author. Nicols. 1809.

ALTHOUGH this volume can by no means be viewed as a systematic description of West Barbary, and though its title-page, in this respect, as well as in the mention of Tombuctoo, is calculated to raise expectations which the work itself does not fulfil, we nevertheless accept very thankfully of Mr Jackson's contribution to geographical science; and should be glad to see so good an example followed by other mercantile men, who may have similar opportunities of obtaining information.

In the prosecution of his business he has resided for a long time among a people less known to Europeans than any other with whom we have, during so many ages, had such constant intercourse: and he has travelled all over a country within sight of Gibraltar, but only less unknown to us than Patagonia and Soudan. The observations which he has himself made upon those parts, and the notices which he has collected respecting the interior from native travellers, form a work of considerable value, both in a commercial and a literary view; and lead us to rejoice, that merchants who have resided in foreign countries are beginning more and more to communicate information upon their return home. Had this practice prevailed in former times, the labours of the African Association would have been incalculably assisted; and Africa, as well as other countries known to us almost by name alone, would have been, before this time, explored with success.

Mr Jackson's book sets out with various details, strictly geographical, upon the divisions, rivers, and mountains of West Barbary. We shall not make any abstract of these, nor do they call

call for observation;—only we must remark, that, in his anxiety to correct the common orthography of African names, our author has fallen into a piece of pedantry. We do not greatly object to *Bled-el-jerrêde* for *Biledulgerid*; or *Fas* for *Fez*; or even *Timbuctoo* for *Tombuctoo*; but *Marocco* for *Morocco* is a little too much. This word is completely naturalized in our language; and to think of changing it, is about as ridiculous an affectation of correctness as it would be to call *Germany*, *Deutschland*; or *Spain*, *Espana*.

In treating of the vegetable productions of this empire, Mr Jackson gives many statements which illustrate its various and extreme fertility. Notwithstanding its miserable state of cultivation, nay, we may say almost without culture, its crops of fruit, vegetables and grain, are prodigious. Domestic animals abound in proportion. The climate is in general favourable to life, having only three months of great heat, and from one to three weeks of the hot wind from the desert, which precedes the rainy season, and is intolerable.

In a long chapter upon the zoology of this part of Africa, we meet with some particulars that deserve notice. The account of the Heirie, or Desert Camel, is very singular, and we should suspect it of exaggeration.

'Nature, ever provident, and seeing the difficulty of communication, from the immense tracts of desert country in Sahara, has afforded the Saharawans a means, upon any emergency, of crossing the great African desert in a few days. Mounted upon the (Heirie) desert camel (which is in figure similar to the camel of burden, but more elegantly formed), the Arab, with his loins, breast, and ears bound round, to prevent the percussion of air proceeding from a quick motion, rapidly traverses, upon the back of this abstemious animal, the scorching desert, the fiery atmosphere of which, parches and impedes respiration, so as almost to produce suffocation. The motion of the heirie is violent, and can be endured only by those patient, abstemious, and hardy Arabs, who are accustomed to it. The most inferior kind of heirie are called Talatayee, a term expressive of their going the distance of three days journey in one: the next kind is called Sebayee, a term appropriated to that which goes seven days journey in one, and this is the general character; there is also one called Tasayee, or the heirie of nine days; these are extremely rare.' p. 39, 40.

The swiftness of this useful animal is thus described by the Arabs, in their figurative manner. 'When thou shalt meet a heirie, and say to the rider, "*Salem Alick*," * ere he shall have answered thee, "*Alick Salem*," † he will be afar off, and nearly out

* The common salutation, 'peace be between us.'

† The answer, 'there is peace between us.'

out of sight; for his swiftness is like the wind.' Now all this is very well for general description, or rather metaphor; but Mr Jackson comes to specific facts in illustration of it;—and here, we own, he does rather startle us. One of these animals, it seems, came from the Senegal river to Mogador in seven days, having travelled through fourteen degrees of latitude, and performed a journey, in all probability, of nearly 1100 miles, or 160 miles a day. Nay, a lover of Mogador one morning mounted his heirie at dawn, went to Morocco, and brought back some oranges, which his mistress had a longing for, late the same night,—having performed a journey of two hundred miles! Our author anticipates the incredulity of his readers, and reminds them, that Bruce 'was lampooned by Munchausen' for many things which afterwards turned out to be correct. But we apprehend that this anecdote of the lover and his heirie is in greater danger of being taken for a story of Munchausen himself, than one of those which he lampooned in Bruce's work.

Our author makes some curious observations on the colour of the camelion. From a variety of experiments, he infers, that it assumes the colour of the bodies over which it passes, to a certain degree; but of none so well as green. These changes of colour require a certain time,—generally two or three minutes; the camelion's body becoming covered with small spots of the given colour, which gradually enlarge, until the whole surface is changed. When the animal is irritated, it gradually assumes a dirty blackish hue, which lasts until the irritation ceases: and while he is asleep, or in a state of complete repose, his colour is whitish. If the accuracy of these observations is to be trusted (which, in the case of an unlearned experimentalist, we cannot safely do), they are of considerable value; for they show that the change of colour is not merely an optical effect of the configuration of the animal's surface, but is owing to a change in the state of that surface. Whether this change is owing to the *perception* of the colour, or to any other sympathetic affection, might have been determined by passing the animal blindfolded over different coloured substances.

The account of ostrich hunting is curious. A party of about twenty Arabs set out upon desert horses, an animal which bears the same relation to the common horse that the heirie does to the camel. They ride against the wind, find the track of the ostrich, and, distributing themselves at distances of half a mile one after another, pursue the bird at full speed. She finding her wings an impediment, turns round, and runs towards the huntsmen, who fire at her successively until they bring her down. The swiftness of the ostrich is such, that, without this stratagem, she never

never could be taken; and as her ſtupidity alone enables it to ſucceed, thereby rendering her ſwiftneſs of no avail, Mr Jackſon pauſes, ſomewhat needleſsly, to moralize, which he does, we muſt confeſs, rather in an awkward manner. 'Thus we ſee' (he exclaims) 'that Providence, whenever it gives any extraordinary quality to an animal, gives alſo another to neutralize that quality, and thereby to bring it under the power of man.' A propoſition quite unfounded in fact; but which, if it were juſt, would amount ſimply to the aſſertion, that Providence is conſtantly working in vain. The account which our author gives of the two chief plagues of this country, the locuſt and the peſtilence, is exceedingly ſtriking. We have only room, however, for one paſſage relating to the latter. It contains ſome very remarkable particulars reſpecting the effects of the laſt great plague upon the general condition of the empire.

'The deſtruction of the human ſpecies in the province of Suſe was conſiderably greater than elſewhere. Terodant, formerly the metropolis of a kingdom, but now that of Suſe, loſt, when the infection was at its height, about eight hundred each day. The ruined, but ſtill extenſive and populous city of Marocco, loſt one thouſand each day. The populous cities of Old and New Fas diminiſhed in population twelve or fifteen hundred each day;* inſomuch, that in theſe extenſive cities, the mortality was ſo great, that the living having not time to bury the dead, the bodies were depoſited or thrown altogether into large holes, which, when nearly full, were covered over with earth. Young, healthy, and robuſt perſons of full ſtamina, were for the moſt part attacked firſt, then women and children, and laſtly, thin, ſickly, emaciated, and old people.

'After this deadly calamity had ſubſided, we beheld a general alteration in the fortunes and circumſtances of men. We ſaw perſons who, before the plague, were common labourers, now in poſſeſſion of thouſands, and keeping horſes, without knowing how to ride them. Parties of this deſcription were met wherever we went, and the men of family called them in deriſion (el wurata) the inheritors.† Proviſions alſo became extremely cheap and abundant. The flocks and herds had been left in the fields, and there was now no one to own them; and the propenſity to plunder, ſo notoriouſly attached to the character of the Arab, as well as to the Shelluh and Moor, was ſuperſeded by a conſcientious regard to juſtice, originating from a continual apprehenſion of diſſolution; and that the El khere, as the plague was now called, was a judgment of the Omnipotent on the diſobedience of man, and that it behoved every indi-

* 'There died, during the whole of the above periods, in Marocco, 50,000; in Fas, 65,000; in Mogodor, 4500; and in Saffy 5000; in all, 124,500 ſouls!'

† 'Des gens parvenues, as the French expreſs it, or upſtarts.'

vidual to amend his conduct, as a preparation to his departure for Paradise.

'The expense of labour, at the same time, increased enormously; and never was equality in the human species more conspicuous than at this time. When corn was to be ground, or bread baked, both were performed in the houses of the affluent, and prepared by themselves; for the very few people whom the plague had spared, were insufficient to administer to the wants of the rich and independent; and they were accordingly compelled to work for themselves, performing personally the menial offices of their respective families.

'The country being now depopulated, and much of the territory without owners, vast tribes of Arabs emigrated from their abodes in the interior of Sahara, and took possession of the country contiguous to the river Draha, as well as many districts in Suse; and, in short, settling themselves, and pitching their tents wherever they found a fertile country with little or no population.' p. 272, 278.

Our author calculates the population of the whole empire, including Tafilelt, at 14,886,600 inhabitants. Of these, he allows nearly 900,000 to the towns; upwards of 10,300,000 to the empire of Morocco west of Atlas; three millions to the tribes of North Atlas; and 650,000 to Tafilelt. The computations are formed, he says, upon accounts collected from various quarters, and, among others, from the Imperial registers; and he appears to place much confidence in their accuracy. We are afraid, however, that he is somewhat above the mark in many particulars. The city of Morocco, for instance, can scarcely contain 270,000 inhabitants; and still less is it possible to suppose that Fez contains so large a population as 380,000.

In the following passage, we have some striking particulars respecting the state of the government, and its influence upon the character of the people.

'The people of this empire, being born subjects of an arbitrary despot, they may be said to have no established laws. They know no other than the will of the prince; and if this should deviate, as it sometimes does, from the moral principles laid down in the Koran, it must be obeyed. Where the Emperor resides, he administers justice, in person, generally twice, and sometimes four times a week, in the (M'shoire) place of audience, whither all complaints are carried. Here access is easy; he listens to every one, foreigners or subjects, men or women, rich or poor. There is no distinction; every one has a right to appear before him, and boldly to explain the nature of his case; and although his person is considered as sacred, and established custom obliges the subject to prostrate himself, and to pay him rather adoration than respect, yet every complainant may tell his story without the least hesitation or timidity. Indeed, if any one is abashed, or appears diffident, his cause is weakened in proportion. Judgment is always prompt, decisive, plausible, and generally correct.

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'In places remote from the Emperor's court, the (Kalif) viceregent, or bashaw, has his M'shoire,* where he adminiſters juſtice, ſometimes according to the laws of the Koran, and, at others, as his caprice dictates; for the ſame imperious deſpotiſm which the Emperor too frequently exerciſes over his bashaws and alkaids, is exerciſed by them over thoſe who fall under their government; and the ſame is done again by their ſubalterns, when they have it in their power. Thus tyranny proceeds progreſſively from the prince to the loweſt of his officers. Theſe petty tyrants are diſperſed over the whole empire, and often give ſanction to their extortions, by effecting them in the name of their maſter. The accumulation of wealth is the grand object of all their deſires. When they learn from their emiſſaries or ſpies that an individual has acquired conſiderable property, they contrive to find out ſome cauſe of accuſation againſt him, and by that means extort money from him. It often happens, however, that thoſe who amaſs the greateſt ſums in this way enjoy them but a very ſhort time. Some unexpected order from the Emperor, accuſing them of crimes or misdemeanors, is made a pretext for depriving them, in their turn, of their ill-gotten wealth, which his majeſty never fails to inform them can be of no uſe to them, being more than ſufficient to procure the neceſſaries of life, and ought therefore to belong to the (Biet el Mel el Mooſelmin) Mohammedan treaſury, into which it is accordingly delivered, never more to return to its former poſſeſſor!

'The influence of this mode of government upon the people, is ſuch as might naturally be expected. They are ſuſpicious, deceitful, and cruel. They have no reſpect for their neighbours, but will plunder one another whenever it is in their power. They are ſtrangers to every ſocial tie and affection; for their hearts are ſcarcely ſuſceptible of one tender impreſſion. The father fears the ſon, the ſon the father; and this lamentable miſtruſt and want of confidence diffuſes itſelf throughout the whole community.' p. 142–144.

The wretched condition of theſe people does not prevent them from being proud and inſolent beyond all other nations. The people of ancient Greece did not more profoundly contemn all foreigners, than the Moors do the moſt enlightened Europeans. The word, indeed, which ſignifies European, is ſynonymous with *Barbarian (Agein)*; nevertheleſs, they deſpiſe Chriſtian renegadoes more than even the unconverted. A change of religion, whether to or from Iſlamiſm, is, in their eyes, beyond every thing contemp-

* 'In the city of Fas, the governor regulates the police, and decides all military diſputes. Juſtice is adminiſtered by the cadi, or chief judge, who is guided by the laws of the Koran. He has under him ſeveral (l'ukil) attornies, ſome of whom manage civil controverſies, others misdemeanours, and others matters relating to religion, marriages, and divorces.'

tible. It is ſingular to find ſo conſiderable a degree of toleration among ſuch a people. The Emperor of Morocco, it ſeems, will allow any ſect not worſhipping a plurality of gods, to have in his dominions places of public worſhip. There are, in conſequence of this permiſſion, Roman Catholic eſtabliſhments at Morocco, Mequinez, Tangiers, and Mogador. The maxim even of the moſt ignorant and bigotted of the people is, that every man ſhould be allowed to worſhip God according to his own conſcience, or agreeably to the religion of his anceſtors. Certainly theſe Muſſulmans have a good right, in one particular at leaſt, to conſider ſome Europeans—ſome followers of the religion of peace—nay, ſome of the moſt enlightened among them, as barbarians.

Mr Jackſon, though far from being partial to the Moors, allows that they have 'one noble trait of character, (fortitude under misfortune).'

'This,' says he, 'the Moor poſſesses in an eminent degree; he never deſpairs: no bodily ſuffering, no calamity, however great, will make him complain: he is reſigned in all things to the will God, and waits in patient hope for an amelioration of his condition. In illuſtration of this, I will take the liberty to relate the following anecdote, as it will alſo tend to ſhow the great riſks to which merchants are expoſed in traverſing this country.

"A Fas merchant (with whom I had conſiderable tranſactions) went, with all his property, on a commercial ſpeculation from Fas to Timbuctoo; and after remaining at the latter place a ſufficient time to diſpoſe of and barter his effects for gold duſt and gum of Soudan, he ſet out on his return to Fas. After paſſing the Deſert, he began to congratulate himſelf on his good fortune and great ſucceſs, when ſuddenly a party of Arabs attacked the (cafila) caravan, and plundered all who belonged to it, leaving the Fas merchant deſtitute of every thing but what clothes he had on his back. During the interregnum, between the death of the Sultan Yezzid and the proclamation of the preſent Sultan Soliman, this man was plundered again on his way to Mogodor, whither he was going to diſcharge ſome debts, and to diſpoſe of gum and other Soudanic produce. Four wives and a numerous family of children rendered his caſe peculiarly diſtreſſing; yet, when condoling with him a few days after his misfortunes had happened, he very patiently obſerved (Aſh men doua, Allah bra; u la illah, ila Allah), What remedy is there? God willed it ſo, and there is none but God. This man afterwards collected together what merchandize he could procure on credit, and proceeded again to Timbuctoo, where he realized much property; and travelling therewith through Wangara and Houſſa to Egypt, he was plundered a third time of all he poſſeſſed, near Cairo, and reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs: this laſt misfortune he bore with the ſame fortitude as the former. He is now, however, one of the principal merchants eſtabliſhed at Timbuctoo." p. 145.

We

We have already noticed the ſtate of the government, and may now add, that the Moors are all equal by birth, knowing no diſtinctions of rank, except ſuch as office beſtows; and all office flows from the Emperor, and is held at his will. His pleaſure may thus raiſe a perſon from the duſt to the higheſt rank in the ſtate; and, in a moment, ſink the firſt man in the country to the loweſt level. Our author mentions a peculiar etiquette of the emperor's court, which we do not remember to have met with in the hiſtory of other deſpotic countries. The word death, it ſeems, may not be pronounced in the imperial preſence; ſo that, if it is neceſſary to inform the Prince that any one is dead, it is done by a circumlocution—'*He has completed his deſtiny,*' to which the reply is, '*God be merciful to him.*'* An example is, however, given by Mr Jackſon, of the ſubordination in which even the Emperor is held by the religious feelings of the people. Perſons bearing the name of Mohammed (which is generally given to the eldeſt ſon), are always addreſſed by the title of *Seedy* (anſwering to *Signor*); and by this the Emperor himſelf addreſſes the meaneſt of his ſubjects who happens to bear that honoured appellation.

The two chapters of this work, which treat of the religion and languages of Morocco, are of little or no value. They contain a number of deſultory remarks on the Mahometan creed, and on the Arabic tongue; topics, which are not peculiar to Weſt Barbary, and are much better diſcuſſed every where elſe than in theſe pages. The ſpecimens of other languages ſpoken in the north of Africa, as Mandingo, Shelluh, &c. are ſcanty and unſatisfactory. A very minute account is given of the foreign trade of Mogador, and a more general notice of the demands and produce of the country. This cannot fail to prove highly uſeful to mercantile adventurers. The exports from Morocco, as might be expected, conſiſt almoſt entirely of raw produce, gums, fruits, bees-wax, ivory, &c. Of theſe, the value exported from Mogador in 1804, did not exceed 128,000l., freight and duty included. The imports are manufactures, as woollen and cotton cloths, hardware, and ſome colonial produce. In the ſame year, there were imported into Mogador about 150,000l. worth of ſuch articles. The traffic of the other ports is very trifling. Ceuta and Tangiers export proviſions to Gibraltar; and theſe, as well as a few other towns on the coaſt, uſed to carry on a conſiderable corn trade before the acceſſion of the preſent Emperor, who has prohibited the exportation of grain. The whole

* Moors, in announcing to each other a Jew's death, say, *Maat bel Karan*, 'the son of a cuckold is dead.' Of a Chriſtian, who bore a good character, they ſay, *Maat Mesquin*, 'the inoffenſive, or negative man is dead;' if he was diſliked, *Maat el Kafper*, 'the infidel is dead.'

foreign trade of the empire, therefore, is very limited; and Mr Jackson, who seems greatly to overrate the importance of a more intimate connexion with West Barbary, ascribes the declining state of the commerce to the mismanagement of the English government in its intercourse with that of Morocco. Our consuls never understand Arabic; they must converse with the Emperor, or his ministers, through the medium of an ignorant Jew interpreter, who is always an object of contempt, and for the most part, deserves no confidence. To such negotiators, it cannot be expected that the Moorish court should communicate freely. There is, moreover, a marked inattention to this subject on the part of our Government, which Mr Jackson complains of with some appearance of justice; for he relates, that when the Emperor of Morocco lately wrote a most friendly letter to the King of England, it was suffered to lye in the Secretary of State's office for some months, without any notice being taken of its contents, to the great indignation of his Imperial Majesty. At last, the circumstance having come to the knowledge of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he applied to Mr Jackson to translate the letter. The result is not mentioned; but, we trust, that after a further time shall have been allowed to the foreign office for laughing at the Moorman, making a due portion of puns and squibs upon his titles, turning his epistle into doggerel, and going through the other routine of that pleasant department of the state, the facetious minister who presides over it may find time to transmit a few lines in reply; the sneers and sarcasms of which, being mistaken by the slave of Ali for pure foolishness, will greatly contribute to raise the character of our nation in the eyes of the Moorish court. In truth, there never was a period when so favourable an opportunity offered of cultivating the goodwill of the Barbary powers. There is something peculiarly striking in the similarity between our rulers and theirs. Our vigorous statesmen have a turn for piracy which would do honour to the privy council of Morocco, or Tunis. The admiralty of Salee must view with astonishment and envy the large scale on which its favourite system hath of late been carried into effect, by our naval power. What boon could be refused to an envoy, who described, at his first audience, the wonders of Copenhagen? Could any prince, with a drop of Algerine blood in his veins, hear unmoved the suit of those who speak of the Spanish dollar ships? To those who believe that fools enjoy the special favour of heaven, there is every reason to think that our cabinet could not apply in vain. And as for the difference of religion, nothing will be easier than to persuade the Moor, that our Government has rejected the abominations of Christianity, by laying before him a history of the pashalick

pashalick of Ireland, or the correspondence with the Beys of Calcutta and Madras. From a negociation commenced under such happy auspices, by powers so congenial, the happiest result may be expected. The Moor has only to take care that his vessels do not find their way into our ports, and to keep our *residents* out of his towns; and there is no intimacy of union, in peace or in war, for which both parties are not fully prepared.

Another neglect of the British Government, arising in a great measure out of the former, is pointed out in a striking manner by Mr Jackson. The crews of the vessels wrecked on the Barbary coast, are, as is well known, after being plundered, carried away and sold as slaves by the Arabs. In sixteen years, ending 1806, seventeen English vessels are known to have been lost, and their crews, amounting probably to 200 persons, have been either killed in the plunder of the wrecks, or dispersed in captivity in the interior. There must, besides, have been many more, of which no notice ever reached Mogador. Now, we extract the following passages upon the fate of these unhappy persons, in the serious and earnest hope that they may yet excite attention in the quarter where the defect can be supplied.

'The Arabs going nearly in a state of nature, wearing nothing but a cloth or rag to cover their nakedness, immediately strip their unhappy victims, and march them up the country barefooted, like themselves. The feet of Europeans, from their not being accustomed, like the Arabs, to this mode of travelling, soon begin to swell with the heat of the burning sand over which they pass; the Arab considering only his booty, does not give himself the trouble to inquire into the cause of this, but, abstemious and unexhausted himself, he conceives his unfortunate captive will, by dint of fatigue and travelling, become so too. In these marches the Europeans suffer the pains of fatigue and hunger in a most dreadful degree; for the Arab will go 50 miles a day without tasting food, and at night will content himself with a little barley meal mixed with cold water; miserable fare for an English seaman, who (to use the term that is applied to the richest men among the Arabs) eats meat every day!

'They carry the Christian captives about the Desert, to the different markets to sell them, for they very soon discover that their habits of life render them altogether unserviceable, or very inferior to the black slaves, which they procure from Timbuctoo. After travelling three days to one market, five to another, nay sometimes fourteen, they at length become objects of commercial speculation, and the itinerant Jew traders, who wander about from Wedinoon to sell their wares, find means to barter for them tobacco, salt, a cloth garment, or any other thing, just as a combination of circumstances may offer, and then return to Wedinoon with the purchase. If the Jew have a correspondent at Mogodor, he writes to him, that a ship had

been wrecked, mentioning the flag or nation she belonged to, and requests him to inform the agent, or consul, of the nation of which the captain is a subject; in the mean time flattering the poor men, that they will shortly be liberated and sent to Mogodor, where they will meet their countrymen: a long and tedious servitude, however, generally follows, for want of a regular fund at Mogodor for the redemption of these people. The agent can do nothing but write to the consul-general at Tangier; this takes up nearly a month, before an answer is received, and the merchants at Mogodor being so little protected by their respective governments, and having various immediate uses for their money, are very unwilling to advance for the European interest of *5 per cent.*: so that the time lost in writing to the government of the country to whom the unfortunate captives belong, the necessity of procuring the money for their purchase previous to their emancipation, and various other circumstances, form impediments to their liberation. I knew an instance where a merchant had advanced the money for one of these captives, who, had his ransom not been paid, would have been obliged to return to the south, where he would have been sold, or compelled to embrace the Mohammedan religion; for the British Vice-Consul had not the purchase-money, nor any orders to redeem him, having previously sent to the Consul-General an account of the purchase of the rest of the crew. This man was delivered up by the merchant who had redeemed him, to the British Vice-Consul, to whom he looked for payment. Various applications were made to the Consul-General; but the money was not paid two years afterwards, all applications to government having failed. A representation of the case was next made to a society in London, which has been established ever since the year 1724,* for the redemption of British slaves in Turkey and Barbary, which, after deliberating on the matter, agreed to pay the merchant the money he had advanced. The purchase-money, in this case, was, including the cost of clothes, (for the man was naked when purchased), did not amount altogether to forty pounds. There was, however, so much trouble attending the accomplishment of the business, that no individual merchant has since ventured to make an advance on a similar security; for, not to mention the difficulty of recovering the principal at the expiration of a long period, the value of money is such at Mogodor, that merchants are unwilling to advance it at a low interest, *6 per cent. per* month being often paid for it.' p. 228—231.

Of

* 'Mr Thomas Betton, a Turkey merchant, by will, in 1724, devised to the Ironmonger's Company, in trust, about 26,000*l.*; one moiety of the profits thereof to be perpetually employed in the redemption of British captives from Moorish slavery; and the other half to be equally distributed between the poor of the Company, and the several charity schools within the city and liberty thereof. *See Maitland's History of London.*'

Of the 200 persons above mentioned, as composing the crews of shipwrecked vessels, our author estimates, that 40 continued unredeemed among the Arabs, in consequence of no offers having been made for them by the Consuls; and that 80 were redeemed, after a tedious captivity, sometimes of five years. The remaining 80 were either killed at first, or induced to embrace the Mahometan religion. The remedy for this great evil is pointed out by Mr Jackson as follows.

'If any nation of Europe ought to inquire into the mode of remedying this evil, it is certainly Great Brisain, whose influence at the court of Marocco might be made very considerable and advantageous to the country. A trifling sum would be sufficient at Mogodor, if deposited in the hands of the Vice-Consul, or any merchant of respectability, where it might remain ready to be employed in the purchase of these unfortunate people; and, by allowing a sum rather above the price of a black slave, the Arabs would immediately bring them to Mogodor, knowing they could depend on an adequate price. By this means, they might be procured for half what they now cost; and it would be an infinitely better plan, than that of soliciting the Emperor to procure them through the Bashaw of Suse; for, besides the delay, and consequent protracted sufferings of the captives, the favour is considered by the Emperor as incalculably more than the cost and charges of their purchase. *

'It is generally a month or two before the news of a shipwreck reaches Mogodor, at which time, if a fund were there deposited, a hundred and fifty dollars would be sufficient to purchase each man; yet, often from the scarcity of specie, and the various demands which the merchants have for their money, they have it not in their power (however charitably disposed) to redeem these poor men; and if they do, it is at their own risk; and they must wait to know if the government chooses to reimburse their expenses.' p. 235–6.

The most valuable part of this volume consists of the information which it gives respecting the trade of the interior of Africa. It is well known, that from Tombuctoo, the great emporium of the central parts of this vast Continent, to the coasts frequented by foreign merchants, as Egypt, the Mediterranean states, and West Barbary, regular caravans carry on an extensive commerce. These caravans, or bodies of travelling merchants, assemble at stated times, for the most part between the months of September and April, in certain places of rendezvous; and, accumulating there

* 'As a further proof of the practicability of establishing an advantageous alliance with the present Emperor, it should be here observed, that his predecessors often obliged the English to send an ambassador with presents, &c. to solicit the liberation of British seamen; but Muley Soliman gives them up to the British Consul, without exacting such kind of remuneration.'

there in larger bodies, called *Akkabaahs*, they proceed across *Sahara*, or the great desert. In the course of this journey, they frequently turn aside towards the *oases*, or fertile spots, which afford them fodder, water, and repose, in their toilsome progress. At each oasis, the *akkabah* remains about a week, and then steers for the next spot of the same description. In the intermediate spaces, they suffer incredible hardships. The *shume*, or hot wind, carrying the sand along with it in vast quantities, sometimes suffocates by its heat,—sometimes obliges them to strike their tents for fear of being overwhelmed by the sand—sometimes evaporates the water carried in skins, to such a degree, that 500 dollars are said to have been given for a single draught; and when a partial exhalation only has taken place, the price very frequently rises to ten or twenty dollars. It now and then happens, that the *akkabah*, arriving at an oasis, finds the water dried up; and its own stock being exhausted, the whole caravan must perish. In 1805, a caravan of 2000 persons and 1800 camels, travelling from Tombuctoo to Tafilelt, perished utterly from this cause; and, as our author observes, the collections of bones to be met with in different parts of the desert, must be ascribed to the recurrence of a similar calamity. These caravans travel under convoy of the Arabs, through whose territories they pass. Two horsemen of the tribe are accounted a sufficient protection, or rather guarantee; and any insult offered to the company, while under their safeguard, would be resented by the whole tribe to which they belong.

The chief caravan from West Barbary sets out from Fez (or as our author denominates it *Fas*), and proceeds to Akka, which it reaches in eighteen days, at the rate of 3¼ miles an hour, travelling seven hours a day. At Akka it remains about thirty days, as the other caravans assemble here, and form the akkabah or accumulated caravan. From Akka to Tagassa this large body travels in sixteen days, and stops at the latter place about a fortnight; it then proceeds towards the oasis of Taudeny, which it reaches in seven days; and, after another halt of a fortnight, sets out for Arawan, another oasis, where it arrives in seven days. Here, too, it rests a fortnight, and then proceeds to Tombuctoo, which it reaches in six days, performing the whole journey in about ninety days. Thus from Fez to Tombuctoo is a journey of 129 days, of which 54 are spent in travelling, and 75 in repose. Another caravan takes the direction of West Tagassa, near the coast, and making an angle by the White Mountains towards Cape Blanco, touches at a place called Agadeer, (in the common maps Arguin), and then turns nearly due east to Tombuctoo. This route being much longer and more interrupted by stopping places than

than the other, requires five or six months. The shorter journey by East Tagassa and Taudeny, which is regularly performed in 129 days, including a month spent in collecting the different caravans at Akka, is frequently accomplished in a much shorter time. Our author, when residing as a merchant at Agadeer and Santa Cruz, on the Western Coast, once received a caravan of gum Soudan from Tombuctoo in eighty-two days. Of the mode of living in these long and melancholy journeys, Mr Jackson has given the following interesting description.

'Those who have philosophy enough to confine their wants solely to what nature requires, would view the individual happiness of the people who compose the caravans, with approbation. Their food, dress, and accommodation, are simple and natural. Proscribed from the use of wine and intoxicating liquors, by their religion, and exhorted by its principles to temperance, they are commonly satisfied with a few nourishing dates, and a draft of water; and they will travel for weeks successively without any other food. At other times, a little barley meal and cold water is the extent of their provision, when they undertake a journey of a few weeks across the Desert; living in this abstemious manner, they never complain, but solace themselves with a hope of reaching their native country, singing occasionally during the journey, whenever they approach any habitation, or whenever the camels appear fatigued; these songs are usually sung in trio, and in the chorus all the camel drivers, who have a musical voice, join. It is worthy observation, how much these songs renovate the camels; and the symphony and time they keep, surpasses what any one would imagine, who had not heard them. In traversing the Desert, they generally contrive to terminate the day's journey at l'Asaw, a term which they appropriate to our four o'clock P. M.; so that between that period and the setting sun, the tents are pitched, prayers said, and the (Lashaw) supper got ready; after which they sit round in a circle, and talk till sleep overcomes them; and next morning, at break of day, they proceed again on their journey.

'The Arabic language, as spoken by the camel-drivers, is peculiarly sweet and soft; the guttural and harsh letters are softened, and with all its energy and perspicuity, when pronounced by them, is as soft, and more sonorous, than the Italian: it approaches the ancient Korannick language, and has suffered but little alteration these twelve hundred years. The Arabs of Moraffra, and those of Woled Abbusebah, frequently hold an extempore conversation in poetry, at which the women are adepts, and never fail to show attention to those young Arabs who excel in this intellectual and refined amusement. * p. 213, 214.

The

* 'During my visit to the Viceroy of Suse, Mohammed ben Delemy, he introduced me to four Arabs of the Woled Abbusebah tribe, who

The articles of trade chiefly conveyed from Barbary to Tombuctoo in these caravans, are German and Irish linens, Indian raw silk, refined sugar, beads, salt, spices and the manufactures of Morocco and Tafilelt. The returns are principally made in gold dust, gold rings and bars, ivory, gums and slaves, which are purchased at Tombuctoo, from Wangaree, Houssa and other slave merchants. These slaves in Barbary fetch commonly about 100 ducats, or somewhat more than 18*l.* a-head; but 400 ducats, or above 72*l.*, have been given for a young female slave from Houssa, of exquisite beauty. The treatment of those slaves is described by Mr Jackson in a manner so perfectly corroborative of all the statements of the abolitionists on this head, that we have much satisfaction in extracting the passage; and it is with a singular pleasure that we find, for the first time, except in a discussion of the particular subject, the African slave trade mentioned, as it here is, in the past tense.

'These slaves are treated very differently from the unhappy victims *who used to be transported* from the coast of Guinea, and our settlements on the Gambia, to the West India islands. After suffering those privations which all who traverse the African Desert must necessarily and equally submit to, masters, as well as servants and slaves, they are conveyed to Fas and Marocco; and after being exhibited in the sock, or public market place, they are sold to the highest bidder, who carries them to his home, where, if found faithful, they are considered as members of the family, and allowed an intercourse with the (horraht) free-born women of the household. Being in the daily habit of hearing the Arabic language spoken, they soon acquire a partial knowledge of it; and the Mohammedan religion teaching the unity of God, they readily reject paganism, and embrace Mohammedanism. Their Mooselmin masters then instil into their vacant minds, ready to receive the first impression, the fundamental principles of the Mooselmin doctrine. The more intelligent learn to read and write, and afterwards acquire a partial knowledge of the Koran; and such as can read and understand one chapter, from that time procure their emancipation from slavery; and the master exults in having converted an infidel, and in full faith expects favour from Heaven for the action, and for having liberated a slave. When these people do not turn their minds to reading, and learning the principles of Mohammedanism, they generally

who conversed in our presence on various subjects, in this poetic manner; and it is astonishing what accuracy in measure and expression is acquired by a long habit in this mode of entertainment. The old Emperor Seedy Mohammed, encouraged this poetic conversation; and when any one excelled, he never failed to reward him munificently; for, although no scholar himself, he encouraged every one who contributed to diffuse a knowledge of the Arabic language.

nerally obtain their freedom after eight or ten years servitude; for the more conscientious Mooselmin consider them as servants, and purchase them for about the same sum that they would pay in wages to a servant during the above period; at the expiration of which term, by giving them their liberty, they, according to their religious opinions, acquire a blessing from God, for having done an act which a Mooselman considers more meritorious in the sight of Heaven, than the sacrifice of a goat, or even of a camel. This liberation is entirely voluntary on the part of the owner; and I have known some slaves so attached to their masters from good treatment, that when they have been offered their liberty, they have actually refused it, preferring to continue in servitude.' p. 247—249.

Mr Jackson has collected, from the accounts of travellers with whom he had an opportunity of conversing, a variety of particulars respecting the city of Tombuctoo. We are unwilling to make any extract or abridgment of this part of his work, lest it should prevent our readers from perusing the account at large. Our object has been, in the passages which we have just noticed, to lay the foundation of a suggestion here forcibly presenting itself to every one who reads this book, or, indeed, any of the details respecting the caravans, of which we were formerly in possession. Is it not manifest, that the great object of all our African travellers, a journey to Tombuctoo, may best be obtained by joining the Fez caravan? There are many Europeans who could not only undergo the fatigues of this journey, but could wear the disguise of Islamism in order to facilitate their progress. But this is by no means necessary. A single native merchant may surely be prevailed upon, by bribes, to take a European with him as his slave; a condition which, in the journeys of the Desert, must evidently be as nearly as possible the same with that of the master. The accounts already alluded to, of the numbers of Christians in a state of slavery, in different parts of Barbary and the Interior, prove clearly that the circumstance of a man possessing an European slave, could be no ground of suspicion. It requires, then, only to find an hardy person, well skilled in the language, and to gain a native caravan traveller; both of which objects may without difficulty be attained at Mogador. If the European should even be reduced to pass for a renegado, while in the caravan, or at Tombuctoo, (and that is the worst fate he can have to dread, in a country where such renegadoes are not not uncommon), it does not appear that any irreparable injury would be done, either to his own character, or to the religion of the country which patronized his attempts. This is a deduction obviously pointed out by every part of our author's details respecting the interior of Africa; and we do most earnestly recommend it to the attention of those enlightened and virtuous men who

who are occupied with plans of discovery in that vast and unexplored continent.

It is impossible to approach this subject, without reflecting on the establishment of an Association which has within the last three years succeeded to the celebrated Society instituted for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. We upbraid ourselves when we reflect, that this most praiseworthy institution has now existed for above two years, without our having taken any notice of its labours. In extenuation of this neglect, we may indeed state, that it is only of late that any account of its proceedings has been published. We have now before us the laws and lists of the Association, * and three very able Reports of the Board of Directors to the general yearly meeting; containing, besides an history of the establishment, various curious and important articles of information relating to Africa. In our next Number, we purpose calling the attention of our readers particularly to this subject; for as this Journal has, from the very beginning, gloried in being ranked among the humblest of the labourers in the great cause of the Abolition, we hold ourselves directly interested in whatever relates to its effects.

Before taking leave of Mr Jackson, we must remark, that his book, though written without any affectation of authorship, is certainly too bulky, and too much ornamented, in proportion to the quantity of its materials. It is eked out with some useless chapters (already hinted at), with broad margins, and wide spaces, and with exceeding bad daubs of aquatinta, until that which should have been a small octavo, has assumed the imposing shape of a quarto with plates. We hope Mr Jackson may not have cause to repent of this species of ambition. In every other respect, we owe him thanks for the entertainment and instruction which he has afforded us.

ART. III. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore: To which are prefixed, Memoirs of Hyder Ali Khan, and his Son Tippoo Sultan. By* Charles Stewart, *Esq. M. A. S. &c.* 4to. Cambridge. 1809.

THE frequent and sudden vicissitudes of fortune, by which the Asiatic thrones are raised and subverted, offer a career to the

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* It is entitled the *African Institution.* It was founded in 1807, under the patronage of the Duke of Gloucester, Mr Wilberforce, and the other distinguished friends of the abolition. Its plan, and the

the military adventurer, defended by no claims of hereditary rank, and faintly guarded by attachment to the falling dynasty. In some countries, the popular superstitions have for a time confined the succession to a particular family; but where these do not interfere, the possession of military talent, and the influence accruing from it with the army, is the usual passport to the throne, after each revolution.

'*Le premier qui fut roi, fut un soldat heureux.*'

In France, the subversion not only of all the political institutions, but a total revolution in public opinion, was necessary to pave the way for that ascendancy of military genius, of which Asia has seen so many examples, and of which, in the last century, Nadir Shah and Hyder Ali were the most remarkable instances.

The establishment of the Mohamedan superstition in Mysor, was completed in the year 1760. All the political events of which Hyder and his son were the authors, fall within the reign of his present Majesty, and form no unimportant part of the history of that eventful period. In the publication before us, Major Stewart, with commendable industry, has collected the obscure traces of Hyder's early ambition, furnished a connected account of his subsequent operations, and subjoined from official documents a narrative of the unprovoked hostilities of his son, terminating in his own destruction. The latter are too well known, to require greater publicity from us; but the former may deserve some attention, as illustrative of the state of society.

Since the decline of the Mogul empire, the armies of the native powers have been in a considerable degree composed of auxiliaries, who, owing no permanent allegiance to the prince who employs them, are ready to transfer their mercenary services, at the command of their leader, to any other chief. The condition of these leaders is in all respects similar to that of the Condottieri, who some centuries ago fought the battles of the Italian princes and republics, and were frequently seen ranged under different standards, as the views or the finances of their employers varied. Such a band was led by Hyder's father, in the year 1727, into the service of the regent of Mysor. On the death of the father, Hyder and his brother, though then minors, succeeded to the command, and remained ever after, with the exception of a very short period, attached to the Mysor government.

From this statement it is obvious, that Hyder entered life in a situation well adapted for the display of his natural intrepidity, and

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the annual reports of the Directors, are to be had at Mr Hatchard's, bookseller, Piccadilly. All we can do at present, is earnestly to recommend them to the attention of our readers.

and for the acquiſition of military experience. To his own talents muſt undoubtedly be attributed the principal ſhare in his ſubſequent elevation; yet fortune had early placed him in the poſt moſt favourable to their ſucceſsful exertion. It may be worth while to trace the progreſſive aggrandiſement of Myſor, under the hands of this enterpriſing leader. Whilſt ſtill an officer in the pay of the regent, he added Bangalor to that ſtate, and obtained it as a military appanage for himſelf. Balapur, with its fertile territory, was invaded and reduced in 1758. But the means adopted by Hyder to ſecure theſe acquiſitions, diſcloſed to the regent the extent of his general's ambition. In an original memoir, tranſlated by the writer of this article, and publiſhed in the Aſiatic Annual Regiſter, there is contained a very copious account of the ſtratagem adopted by the regent to ſecure Hyder's perſon. This attempt terminated in the deſtruction of the regent himſelf, to whoſe office Hyder was immediately appointed to ſucceed by the titular ſovereign.

In the hands of an enterpriſing chief, Myſor was at that time ſituated in the moſt favourable poſition for an extenſion of empire. Neither the character nor circumſtances of Mohamed Ali were calculated to inſpire any apprehenſions from the ſide of the Carnatic. The poſterity of Aſof Jah already began to ſlumber on the throne of Hyderabad. The diſſenſions of the Mahrattas, and their ambitious views in the northern provinces of India, combined to remove any immediate fears from that quarter. But Hyder's newly acquired dominion was ſurrounded by petty princes, whoſe ſtates, diſſevered from the fallen monarchies of Vijayanagar and Vijayapur, muſt fall an eaſy prey to his veteran armies, accuſtomed to oppoſe European battalions. Bednor and Sitaldurga were ſucceſſively reduced. To theſe important acquiſitions were ſpeedily added the extenſive diſtricts of Guti and Cudapa, in the north; whilſt the ſubjection of the Naïr chiefs in the ſouth contributed ſtill more to the ſecurity, than to the aggrandiſement of his territories, of which the kingdom of Myſor was now no very conſiderable portion.

Inſtead of retracing a ſeries of exploits already well known to the majority of our readers, we prefer offering a few remarks deducible from the eventful hiſtory of the two Mohamedan rulers of Myſor.

The conduct of ſtatesmen, even of the great ones, and thoſe accounted ſucceſsful, is ſo frequently at variance with the obvious ſuggeſtions of common prudence, that we ſhould be apt to conclude that they followed ſome higher guide, did not the fatal reſult demonſtrate that no other can be followed with ſafety. In the poſture of affairs at the acceſſion of Hyder, his policy ſhould manifeſtly

manifestly have been, to conciliate the great powers,—to cultivate the alliance of the English on his eastern, and of the Mahrattas on his northern frontier; whilst he gradually extended his dominion over the whole of the western peninsula of the Dekhyn. Instead of steadily pursuing measures adapted to this end, many years of his reign had not elapsed, before we find him engaged in hostilities with both these powers,—though outflanked by many petty, but independent princes, on the coasts of his kingdom, and the extensive principality of Travancor, on the south. The natural consequence of this error, was, to cement an alliance between all these states and the English government; and thus oppose an insurmountable barrier to the consolidation and security of his own dominions.

But if it might be permitted *Hyder* to doubt of the solidity or duration of an authority so recently established in his neighbourhood, it is clear at least that *Tippu* had not the same apology. The maritime superiority of England had been decisively established before *he* began his reign; her extensive territories had long quietly submitted to a jurisdiction to which they were now accustomed; and no indication appeared of a desire to enlarge them at his expense. Her force was easy to be ascertained, and in the vicinity. In throwing himself into the arms of France, he trusted to a remote and precarious aid, against an imminent and certain danger. Yet, though these reflections be obvious, and be confirmed by the event during the whole course of his reign, so little effect does experience produce in changing the politics of courts, that he never deviated from the same fatal policy, till the catastrophe which put a period to his existence.

Both these chiefs, attentive only to the aggrandisement of their dominion, seem to have been indifferent to, or ignorant of, the means of their improvement. Yet their revenues, like those of all the sovereigns of Asia, were solely derived from the produce of agriculture. In Mysor, that produce is dependent on artificial irrigation, and requires a liberal and intelligent appropriation of a part of the public resources for its support. But the funds which a judicious government would have destined to this purpose, were squandered in military expeditions; and, far from adding to the real riches of the state, the canals, aqueducts, and reservoirs, constructed by the munificence of the antient Hindu sovereigns, were suffered to fall into ruin, involving the cultivation of the interjacent districts in their decay. We are aware, that the conduct of Hyder was in this respect less censurable than that of his successor. It is still evident, that the rapidly accelerating ruin under Tippu was already begun under the former reign. The desolating march of successive invading armies, swept off the means of future increase.

If we compare the successful warfare of Hyder with the misfortunes which awaited his successor, it is not difficult to perceive one cause which materially operated to produce those opposite results. Availing himself of his superiority in cavalry, the former, instead of waiting for the enemy, constantly carried fire and sword into his country. Secure of never fighting to disadvantage, from the rapid movements which the nature of his strength admitted, he extended his depredations to the walls of Madras; and thus obliged his antagonist to detain, for his protection at home, that force, which, had it penetrated into his territories, must ultimately have subdued them. On the other hand, Tippu injudiciously attempted to rival the European armies in that which constituted their strength. A numerous infantry, encumbered with an unwieldy, and altogether disproportionate train of artillery, impeded the only mode of warfare in which he was really superior. But these, however formidable they might prove to other native powers, never attained that state of skill and discipline, which could place them on an equality with the enemy with whom he chose to contend.

But whatever might be the errors of this unhappy prince, they were certainly equalled by the impolicy of the French; who, in order to occasion a momentary inconvenience to their enemy, stimulated their ally to hostilities, contrary to every probability of success. The consequence was, as might have been anticipated,—the annihilation of a power on whom they might have relied for strenuous and efficient assistance, and for a secure footing in Hindustan, when future circumstances might direct their attention to that quarter.

Tippu Sultan enjoyed the advantages, or experienced the inconveniences of a regular education, in the manner of the Moslems. Much of his time was unavoidably engrossed by the details of business, into which he appears to have entered personally. But much was also spent in reading; and there is abundant proof of his having intended to increase the list of royal authors. Might we venture to conjecture the extent of this Prince's literary attainments, we should suppose that the Persic language was habitual to him, and that he had read the most esteemed writers who have composed in it, both in prose and verse. The Coran was probably familiar with some of the best commentators; but it is not likely his knowledge of Arabic enabled him to read works in that language for his amusement. His character for bigotry is established; and he certainly aspired to the reputation of a saint amongst his Moslem subjects. But these form a greater proportion of the general population in his states, than in most parts of Hindustan; and it is doubtful how far policy might induce him

to

to assume the character of superior sanctity in order to attach them still more to his person. It has often been asserted, that he meditated some change in the doctrines of Islamism. His introduction of a new era on his coins, by substituting the birth, instead of the flight of Mohamed, might either proceed from caprice, or be intended as a prelude to more important innovations. The mild and benevolent spirit of the Hindu institutions and manners, seems to have softened in Hindustan the turbulent intolerance of Islamism. The Indian Moslems condescend to pity and regret the blindness of the idolaters who cannot discern the proofs of Mohamed's divine mission, and the sublimity of his doctrine; but they do justice to their gentle and inoffensive conduct, unite with them in the bonds of cordial and mutual friendship, and partake with alacrity in the sportive festivities of their annual rites. Since the first conquerors, most of the Mohamedan emperors have exercised an impartial sway over the votaries of both faiths. But Aurungzebe mounted the throne by alarming the fanaticism of the Mohamedans, with the suspicion that his elder brother intended to subvert their religion; and Tippu seems to have adopted the policy of securing the attachment of the Moslems by the oppression of his Hindu subjects. His plan, indeed, appears to have embraced a general combination of the Mohamedans for the expulsion of the Christians, and the total subjugation of the Hindus. The former, though a small, certainly constitute the most warlike population of India; but the talents of Tippu were inadequate to a design of this magnitude, and circumstances at the time unfavourable to such a league.

The catalogue of Tippu's library here presented to the public, possesses considerable interest, by exhibiting the sort of learning actually cultivated by the Mohamedans of India at this day, and the principal works now circulating through that country. Without some knowledge of their literature we should form a very incompetent idea of the individuals composing the higher and middle classes amongst civilized nations; and although a mere catalogue is more likely to excite than to gratify such a curiosity, it nevertheless supplies us with the topics which occupy the minds, exert the understandings, or captivate the imaginations of a large portion of mankind.

'The library' says Major Stewart 'consisted of nearly 2000 volumes of Arabic, Persic, or Hindustani manuscripts, in all the various branches of Mohamedan literature. Very few of these books had been purchased either by Tippu or his father. They were part of the plunder brought from Sanur, Cudapa, and the Carnatic: some of them had formerly belonged to the Mohamedan kings of Vijayapur and Golconda. But the greater number had been the property

of the Nuab Ali Vahib Khan, brother of Mohamed Ali of the Carnatic, and were taken by Hyder in the fort of Chitor, during the year 1780.

'All the volumes that had been rebound at Seringapatnam have the names of God, Mohamed, his daughter Fatima, and her sons Hasan and Hasain, stamped in a medallion on the middle of the cover; and the names of the first four khalifs, Abubeker, Omar, Osman, and Ali, on the four corners. At the top is, "The government given by God;" and at the bottom, "God is sufficient." A few were impressed with the private signet, "Tippu Sultan." The topics of these were in general either theology or Sufyism, which were his favourite studies. But the Sultan was ambitious of being an author; and although we have not discovered any complete work of his composition, not less than forty-five books on different subjects, were either composed, or translated from other languages, under his immediate patronage or inspection. In most of these, his intolerance and aversion to all Christians and Hindus are strongly marked.'

From a general view of their literature it is apparent, that none of the sciences or the arts which have contributed to enlighten and refine the minds of men in other countries, have been altogether overlooked by the modern Persians: and it is scarcely necessary to remind our readers, that the library of a Mohamedan, whether born in India or Persia, consists of books in the Persic and Arabic languages. But although they embrace every topic which can engage the attention of the studious, they are calculated to inspire very different degrees of interest. Their theology will be found to consist in prolix and abstruse commentaries on the Coran; in legendary tales of the miracles performed at the tombs of holy Shaikhs; and in the enthusiastic rhapsodies of the Sufis. In the history of human opinions, those held by so considerable a portion of mankind, by no means deficient in natural sagacity, are doubtless entitled to a place; but it is only in this point of view they can be deserving of attention. In science, the Asiatics appear to be retrogressive. To experimental philosophy they have at no time devoted themselves. In dialectics, on which they have written voluminously, they still submit to be implicitly guided by the preceptor of their Macedonian conqueror. Their reasoning faculties have never been judiciously applied to the observation of the phenomena of mind; nor have their researches been directed, in a comprehensive manner, to a consideration of the circumstances which influence the prosperity or decline of nations.

Their works of imagination must not be estimated by the rules of criticism derived from the writers of Greece and Rome. The exuberant fancy of an Eastern poet acknowledges no check, and spurns the controul of correct taste. From this circumstance, few

few Persic poems admit of literal or entire translation; though the fire of genius, the novelty of the manners, and the unaccustomed ornaments of the oriental muses, render them abundantly attractive to those whose tastes are not too exclusively formed on higher models, but are capable of relishing the sublime and beautiful, though arrayed in an unusual costume. Classical antiquity has furnished models to the people of Europe. Its modern productions are all, to a certain degree, cast in the same moulds. The same ideas of excellence are universally prevalent; and in appreciating the comparative merits of different writers, the same standards of ideal perfection are universally though tacitly referred to. By these standards, however, the compositions of Asia cannot with justice be measured. To term, therefore, the sublime work of Ferdusi, which is a history of Persia in verse, an epic poem, or a series of epic poems, does not appear to us calculated to furnish a correct idea of that composition; but, by causing the reader to expect an unity of action, which the poet never thought of, to detract from the innumerable beauties of detail which it really possesses.

But whatever merit we may be disposed to assign to the poetical productions of the East, we cannot refuse to the Persian historians the praise of having transmitted to posterity copious and accurate records of the mighty revolutions of which Middle Asia was the theatre, from the commencement of the Khalifat to the decline of the house of Sofi. Unfortunately for the inquisitive student, who may attempt to explore the antient history of the East through this medium, it is within these limits only, that the merit of accuracy can be assigned. The mighty revolution, which fixes the beginning of this era, sweeping before it, not the thrones only, but the religion, the literature, and even the language of a great portion of the world, has left to posterity only the scanty and uncertain traditions which survived the general wreck, or the partial and prejudiced notices which have fallen from writers of distant and hostile nations.

It is not easy to assign the precise notion which the early Greeks annexed to the term 'Barbarian,' unless we consider it as synonymous with stranger or foreigner. To the *barbarous* nations of Egypt, Phœnicia, and the East, they were indebted, according to their own traditions, for the first elements of refinement, and the introduction of science into Greece. Were we to collect from Grecian writers the characteristic distinctions of the great nations of antiquity, we should consider the Persians as a people immersed in luxury and effeminacy; the Phœnicians as entirely devoted to commercial pursuits, and the acquisition of riches; and the Egyptians as a people contaminated with an abject and grovelling superstition. But it is difficult to perceive how these different

qualities should entitle those nations to be classed under one general epithet.

A state of luxury appears of necessity to imply a considerable progress in the arts, with which that of science is usually commensurate. As a reproach, it appears not to be confined to the palace of the Great King, nor to the provincial courts of his Satraps. It included all ranks, and involved the whole Persian nation. In the details of this luxury afforded by the Grecian historians, it required for its gratification, a great variety of articles of consumption, transported from distant regions, at a proportionate labour and expense. In this particular, Persic luxury has been far surpassed by the nations of modern Europe, and so differently do we estimate its consequences, that we consider the fact as at once the proof and the effect of prosperity and refinement. Still less does it appear, that the necessary result of such a condition is to enervate the people among whom it subsists. The English and French nations are at this day those, amongst whom the superfluities of life are most generally consumed and enjoyed: but can it be affirmed that valour, intrepidity, and contempt of death is less conspicuous amongst them, than with the rude and half civilized people of Russia and Poland? The Persians, luxurious and effeminate as they were, subdued, and retained in subjection, not only the polished inhabitants of the plains, from the Oxus and Indus to the shores of the Mediterranean, but held under their authority many a rude and warlike tribe, inhabitants of Caucasus and Taurus. It is not difficult to discover, in the fatal security induced by such a state of prosperity; in the disorders and disaffection incidental to so extensive an empire; and, above all, in the superior talents of his adversary, the causes of the fall of Dara. But after his death, the Persians were amongst the first to throw off the yoke, and, under the descendants of Arshac, to erect a power, which disputed with Rome herself the supremacy of Asia, and, when governed by a subsequent dynasty, resumed possession of most of the countries formerly occupied by her arms.

To the work before us, Major Stewart has subjoined extracts from a number of Persian historians, accompanied by English translations, which will prove useful to the student of that language. Instead of furnishing our readers with a specimen of them, we prefer exhibiting a succinct, but comprehensive statement, of the information supplied by the perusal of Persian history, and thus enabling him, in some degree, to appreciate its value.

In their account of ancient Persia, the Mohamedan historians appear to have servilely copied the scanty traditions collected by Ferdusi. This poet was a native of Tus, in the north of Khorasan, and was in possession of the materials procured by Dakiki, who also lived

lived at the court of Gazna, and preceded him in arranging those traditions for a poetical narrative. But although their materials are expressly declared to be derived from oral tradition, it does not appear that they had recourse to the documents of the Magi, who, at that time, still kept alive the sacred fire in the temples of Kirman, and might possess ancient records of undoubted authority. On the contrary, they appear to have contented themselves with such traditions as were extant in the north-east part of Persia, where the geography and revolutions of the western provinces of that mighty empire were imperfectly known, and excited little interest. To this circumstance it is probably owing, that little notice is taken of the western conquests and expeditions of the ancient monarchs, which are only slightly mentioned; whilst their wars with the Scythians, of which the native country of these poets was frequently the theatre, are related with much minuteneſs. Unſatisfactory as this partial narrative muſt prove to the explorer of antiquity, the Mohamedan hiſtorians have without neceſſity perverted Ferduſi, and, from ſuperſtitious motives, encumbered his narrative with extraneous difficulties, by altering the chronology to reconcile it with that of the Jewiſh hiſtory, of which their ideas are extremely incorrect.

Of the period which elapſed between the Macedonian conqueſt and the acceſſion of the houſe of Saſan, the accounts are vague and unſatisfactory. Ferduſi profeſſedly omits it, for want of documents. The proſe writers ſupply a ſlight biography of ſome of the Arſacides, under the appellation of Malec al Tuïf, Perſia being at that time governed by ſeveral independent princes.

From the acceſſion of the Saſanides, a tolerably diſtinct narration is deduced, until the period of its extinction by the Mohamedan conqueſt. During much of this period, the hiſtory of Perſia is intimately blended with that of the lower empire; and the records of the Eaſt and Weſt reflect mutual light on the ſtate of both countries.

With the Mohamedan conqueſt, the antient hiſtory of Perſia terminates. But in this place is uſually introduced a genealogical account of the Taba, or antient ſovereigns of the Homerites, on the coaſts of Arabia Felix. This country, rendered intereſting by the account of Diodorus, is celebrated by the Moſlem hiſtorians as the ſeat of an extenſive and flouriſhing empire, whoſe antient ſovereigns carried their conqueſts to the Oxus, and ſubdued Abyſſinia and Weſtern Africa to the ſhores of the ocean. To theſe princes they manifeſtly attribute the wars and conqueſts of the Aſſyrians, of whom no mention occurs in the Perſic records by that name, but frequently under that of Arabians. The hiſtory of the Taba is followed by that of ſome contemporaneous dy-

naſties of princes, who ruled adjacent countries wreſted from the ſucceſſors of Alexander. The appellation by which the antient Perſians diſtinguiſhed the Arabians, was 'Tazi;' but they obviouſly included under it the inhabitants of other countries than Arabia Proper. The latter, with the exception of the poliſhed people of Arabia Felix, contained a ſcanty and almoſt ſavage population. Some account of its diviſion into tribes, and particularly of the moſt diſtinguiſhed, to whom the charge of the temple of Mecca was entruſted, introduces, in the Moſlem records, the biography of the prophet, and the converſion and conqueſts of his immediate ſucceſſors.

In the fourth century of the Mohamedan era, the language and literature of modern Perſia were cultivated and fixed. Little change in either has ſince occurred. A variety of hiſtorians who flouriſhed about that period, ſtill live in their works, or are quoted by their ſucceſſors. A regular ſeries of authentic hiſtory includes the commencement of the khalifat, and continues till the decline of the houſe of Sofi. The reign of Shahrokh (ſon of Tamerlane) and of the princes of the ſame family who ſucceeded him, appears to have been the moſt flouriſhing period of the literature of modern Perſia. The city of Herat, during that period, was the ſeat of ſcience and of the fine arts.

The tyranny of the Sofi family, and the anarchy which followed their extinction, ſeems to have been equally fatal to the proſperity and to the genius of that unhappy country; and no work of celebrity is mentioned as compoſed in it during the laſt century and a half. It may be proper to add, in order to leave nothing untouched which Perſic hiſtory comprehends, that the invaſion of Chenghis is preceded by a genealogical account of the Tartar tribes, which is continued to the laſt of the deſcendants of Timur, who reigned in Tartary.

The hiſtory of the Mohamedan princes who ruled in India, has been ably and amply elucidated by writers who were natives of that country, though their works are compoſed in the Perſic language, which was adopted at all the Indian courts. But although theſe hiſtorians may rival in merit the contemporary writers of Perſia, their productions do not fall within the ſcope of our preſent inquiry.

ART.

ART. IV. *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili, by Abbé Don J. Ignatius Molina; with Notes from the Spanish and French Versions; and an Appendix, containing copious Extracts from the Araucana of Don Alonzo de Ercilla. Translated from the Original Italian, by an American Gentleman.* 2 vol. 8vo. Middletown (Conn.) 1808.

WE are particularly glad at the present moment to be able to direct our readers to the works of Molina, in their own language. Whatever is calculated to increase our knowledge of South America, is now of the greatest importance; and the region which is the subject of the work before us, is certainly among the most interesting of that neglected world. It occupies the space between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean; and, stretching from the 24th to the 45th degree of south latitude, is universally described as a terrestrial paradise, being blessed beyond any other country with a delicious climate, and a fertile soil; and exhibiting, in its varied scenes, at once the most grand and magnificent, as well as the most soft and engaging features of nature.

The translation with which we are now favoured, the production of an American pen, and an American press, presents us with *two* works of Molina, which, in the original, were published separately; the first entitled, *Saggio sulla Storia Naturale del Chili*, del Signor Abate Giovanni Ignazio Molina, printed at Bologna 1782; the other entitled, *Saggio sulla Storia Civile del Chili*, printed at Bologna 1787. The first of these is well known, even in this country, and is highly esteemed by all the naturalists of Europe.* The latter is rarely to be met with in England, though it has been translated into Spanish, and we believe into French. Of the *Storia Naturale* a translation in French now lies before us.

Of the American publication which we have now received, the first volume contains the translation of the *Storia Naturale*, the second, that of the *Storia Civile*, with the Appendix noticed in the title. It is not our intention to enlarge upon the contents of these works: the *Storia Naturale* is too well known to require it; and, of the *Storia Civile* it may suffice to say, that it is a succinct and intelligent account of the state of the natives, when first discovered by

* Even Mr Pinkerton, whom it is not easy to please, says, 'Molina does honour to the Creol race; for, a more clear, scientific, and intelligent account of any country was never written by any author, of any age or climate.' *Modern Geography*, v. iii. *p.* 701.—and at p. 665, 'The works of Molina concerning this interesting country may be regarded as excellent models of chorography; and scarcely of any distant region a description exists so exact and complete.

by the Spaniards; of the transactions, whether warlike or peaceful, which have since taken place; and of the present state, diversities, and character of the population. There are few, we are inclined to think, among those who take an interest in such questions, who will not be disposed to look for themselves into this interesting and satisfactory performance. *

Of the author it may be requisite to say, that he was a native of the country which he has described. He was one of those Jesuits, who were so cruelly driven from their country, when the court of Spain embraced the resolution of extinguishing the order within all its dominions; and was one of those, who, on that occasion, as we mentioned in a former article, took refuge in the dominions of the Pope in Italy. Clavigero, who has presented us with the celebrated history of his native country, Mexico; Molina the historian of Chili; and Viscardo, a native of Peru, from whose pen we lately presented an interesting tract to the notice of our readers, and who left behind him various manuscripts on the state of his country, which we have reason to believe were highly worthy of seeing the light, are three natives of Spanish America, and three of that handful of persecuted ecclesiastics, whom, in an equal number of any order of men, it will not be easy to parallel.

The great political questions which regard Spanish America, have

* As far as we know, very few copies have been sent to this country from America. But we have no doubt that the book will speedily be reprinted here. When this is done, however, we recommend that the translation be carefully compared with the original; for, though the task of the American translator appears to us respectably done, yet he has evidently leaned too much to the French version. We may quote one instance from a passage which lies before us. Speaking of the language of the Chilese, Molina says, (*Stor. Natur. l.* iv. *p.* 334.) 'Questa lingua è dolce, armoniosa, espressiva, regolare, e copiosissima di termini atti ad enunciare non solo le cose fisiche generali o particulari, ma anche le cose morali e astratte.' The French translator says, 'Cette langue est douce, harmonieuse, expressive, reguliere, et possede un grand nombre de mots, non seulement pour les choses physiques, mais aussi pour les choses morales et metaphysiques.' In tracing the state of society among a rude people, the invention of *abstract terms* is regarded by philosophers as marking an era. Molina, accordingly, is careful to express distinctly this circumstance, 'ma anche le cose morali e *astratte*' (abstract). This the French renders 'metaphysiques,' which means nothing: and the American transcribes the whole passage from the French. 'This language is soft, harmonious, expressive, and regular, and possesses a great number of words, not only expressive of natural objects, but also of moral and metaphysical ideas.'

have not diminiſhed—they have augmented in intereſt ſince the occaſion which we lately embraced, of laying before our countrymen ſome of thoſe ſtatements and views which we conceived it important for them, at this juncture, to have preſent to their minds.* The appearance of the publication before us, and, ſtill more, our deep conviction of the value of the critical moment in bringing good or evil out of ſuch a ſtate of affairs as juſt now preſents itſelf in South America, have induced us once more to direct our pen to this intereſting ſubject.

There is no former period of our hiſtory at which the emancipation of Spaniſh America, the removal of that dark, and jealous, and excluding government—which watched over its colonies as an Aſiatic tyrant does over his ſeraglio—which feared the approach of a trader as an enemy, and ſhut out the world from all intercourſe with ſo great and ſo fair a portion of the globe—would not have appeared an event to be numbered among the greateſt which the courſe of human affairs could bring forth. Witneſs the efforts which this nation has never ceaſed to make, to obtain even a diminutive ſhare of the advantages which the intercourſe with that country ſeemed calculated to enſure,—from the date of the romantic adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh, to the recent tranſactions of Sir Home Popham and General Whitelocke. Witneſs the importance which, throughout the hiſtory of Britiſh commerce, we ſhall find attached to the contraband trade with the Spaniſh Main;—the contract, on which ſo much ſtreſs was laid in the treaty of Utrecht;—the intereſt which has been ſo often excited by the queſtion relative to the Britiſh right of cutting logwood in the Bay of Campeachy. Witneſs too the South-Sea Company, which abſorbed to ſuch a degree the attention of the nation. Witneſs even the importance which was ſo recently attached to the diſpute about the wretched ſpot of Nootka Sound; the ſtill greater importance which was, about half a century ago, attached to the poſſeſſion of the Falkland Iſlands; and the weight which was aſcribed to Trinidad, in arranging the treaty of Amiens.

But if ever the intercourſe with South America was juſtly regarded as of importance to this country, that importance muſt be allowed to be augmented in a tenfold ratio, by the extraordinary circumſtances in which the extraordinary events of the laſt twenty years have involved the nations of Europe.

Let us ſuppoſe that, in our preſent ſtate of embarraſſment and alarm, South America had preſented a proſpect as barren of hope to us as Europe itſelf; that, beſotted with their bigotry to their excluſive religion, and their excluſive government, the inhabitants had rejected and abjured all intercourſe with heretics and free men; and

* Vide vol. XIII. p. 277.

and had driven us from their ſhores, as we have hitherto been driven by thoſe who ruled over them; how deeply ſhould we have deplored the misfortune! How highly ſhould we have eſtimated the reſources ſo vaſt, and the demand ſo appropriate of the new world, had acceſs to it been withheld from our beneficent enterpriſes, at the moment when the continent of Europe ſeemed cloſing upon our hopes! Formerly, when the emancipation of Spaniſh America, from an oppreſſive and degrading government was contemplated by the beneficent ſpirits of this country, as in the number of deſirable events, the bigotry of the inhabitants, their hatred of heretics, their blind attachment, even to the government that oppreſſed them, appeared to erect invincible obſtacles, and were lamented as precluding the acceptance of aid, from the only government ſufficiently liberal, and ſufficiently powerful to hold it out. By the happy operation of knowledge and events, this bigotry has now given way; and a variety of cauſes have tended to weaken the chain which bound thoſe colonies to the mother country; a chain which may now be regarded as broken, and impoſſible ever again to be joined. The inhabitants of the new world are holding out their arms to the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſles, craving their aſſiſtance in the hour of need—and offering to them, in return, the moſt unbounded proſpects of advantage which it ever was in the power of one nation to hold out to another.

How, then, it may be asked, does it happen, that a state of things, which, while it was unattainable, was the object of so many eager efforts, should excite so little interest, and produce so few exertions to take advantage of it, now that it has spontaneously occurred? The truth is, that our hatred and our fear of France leaves us no room for any other feeling; and that the proximity and immediate interest of our daily manœuvres against her, prevents us from descrying the superior importance, even as a measure of defence or hostility, of the great and easy exploit to which we are invited in another hemisphere.

The importance of South America, as indicated even by its extent and situation on the map of the globe, strikes every eye. But the idea of this importance is still very imperfect, while the extent of its moral and physical resources remains unexplored. Among the papers of Viscardo, was one, unfortunately not now within our reach, containing a dissertation on the population of the Spanish dominions on the continent of America, in which, from a variety of interesting documents, and of rational deductions, he found himself authorised to state the number of inhabitants at not less than 18,000,000. We have in our hands a very curious document on the population of New Spain, which we think highly worthy of being communicated to the public, not

not only on account of the direct information it contains, but for the *data* which it affords for drawing accurate conclusions respecting other parts of the American dominions. The document to which we allude, is a letter from Clavigero, the celebrated author of the History of Mexico, written from Italy to Viscardo, then in London, in answer to certain questions which that gentleman had addressed to Clavigero and the rest of his brethren in Italy. For the authenticity of the letter we are qualified to vouch. The following is a very literal translation.

'QUESTIONS.

'1*mo*, What may be the number, more or less, of the Indians, vassals [*vassalos*] to the crown of Spain, in the three Audiencias of Mexico, Guathemala, and Guadalaxara?

'2*do*, What may be the total number of the inhabitants of all classes in these three Audiencias?

'ANSWER.

'To these questions we cannot return an answer completely satisfactory, because we have no written document respecting the number of Indians, or other inhabitants in the district of Guathemala, nor any individual who can inform us, of his own knowledge. As to the Audiencia of Guadalaxara, there are details enough in writing respecting particular parts of it, but not enough to enable us to tread on surveyed ground with respect to the whole. The only thing we can pronounce with certainty is, that of the four dioceses, comprehended in the Audiencia of Guathemala,—two, those of Nicaragua and Honduras, are ill peopled; the archbishopric of Guathemala is extensive and populous, the Indians here being extremely numerous [*un numero excesivo de Yndios*]; in the bishopric of Chiapa, although the population does not correspond with the extent, it is still very numerous [*contiene poblaciones mui numerosas.*] In the bishopric of Yucatan, the number of Indians is very great. The Audiencia of Guadalaxara, which is greater in territorial extent, contains likewise four ecclesiastical dioceses,—those of New Gallicia, New Biscay, New Leon, and New Sonora, in which, though the population is very inferior to the vast extent, are nevertheless contained many hundred thousand souls. We are assured by the missionaries whom the Jesuits employed there, that there are about two hundred settlements [*poblaciones*] of Indians, besides 100,000 Neophytes. In the Audiencia of Mexico, are comprized the four dioceses of Mexico, Puebla, Mechoacan, and Nuaxaca, well peopled. Don Juan de Villa, receiver-general of the royal quicksilver, published at Mexico, in two volumes folio, in the years 1746 and 1748, a description of the countries belonging to the viceroyalty of Mexico; in which work, drawn up by order of Philip V., were exhibited the most minute details respecting the population. According to these statements, four millions of inhabitants nearly, of all classes, were found in the four bishopries; but I have no doubt that they exceed, and

by

by not a little, that number; 1*mo*, because the said author, in various provinces, presents only the number of inhabitants assembled in communities or villages, not including those who live dispersed in the country, and who are very numerous [*numero infinito*]; 2*do*, because he gives us only the statements made to him by the Alcaldes Majores, whose interest it was to make the number of the tributaries appear as small as possible. It is true, that the Audiencia sends occasionally through the province certain commissioners, who are called *contadores de Yndios* [sellers of Indians], because they are charged to count the tributaries, and to report whether the statements of the Alcaldes Majores be correct; but it is also certain that these have an understanding with the Contadores, and join hands in order to prevent detection; and therefore, we may without temerity conclude, that the true number of the tributaries exceeds, by one tenth at least, the number returned by the Alcaldes Majores. Doctor Eguiara affirms, in the first volume of the Bibliotheca Mexicana, printed at Mexico in 1775, that the diocese of la Puebla alone contains a million and a half of inhabitants. Those who are acquainted with that great man, know that he is incapable of such an affirmation, without good reasons to be assured of its truth. The diocese of Mexico contains, without doubt, as great a population as that of la Puebla; and consequently, we may believe, that these two dioceses, taken alone, contain upwards of three millions. Those of Mechoacan and Huaxaca are so well peopled, that no person who has travelled through them can doubt, but the population of both, taken together, considerably exceeds that of Mexico alone. From all this we may with moderation [*prudentemente*] infer, that the Audiencia of Mexico, by itself, contains from four and a half to five millions of inhabitants. With respect to the other two Audiencias, although we have not so much information as concerning that of Mexico, we are nevertheless persuaded that, within the territory of the three Audiencias, we cannot be mistaken in computing eight millions of Christians, subjects of the crown of Spain. Of this number, somewhat more than the third part are Spaniards, Creoles, Mestees and Mulattoes; the other two parts are Indians.'

Mr Pinkerton, on the authority of a collection of voyages and travels, lately published at Madrid, entitled, *El Viagero Universal*, and of which he himself says, that *the only volumes* worthy of the attention of the intelligent reader, are those relating to *Spanish America*, though he gives us no reason for trusting the author, *Estalla*, more on that head than any other, exhibits a very different statement. 'The same author,' he says [*Estalla*], 'observes, that though he has not been able to acquire exact information concerning the population of New Spain, yet, by the most intelligent computations, there are, in the Intendancy of Mexico, one million two hundred thousand souls, including one hundred and forty thousand for the city. And by the proportion between this

this province and the others, as well as by the best founded calculations, it may be supposed that there are, in all the kingdom, three millions and a half of inhabitants.' (*Pinkerton's Mod. Geog. 2d edit. v.* iii. *p.* 162.) Let us make a few comparisons. By the official returns made to the receiver-general in 1748, of which Mr Pinkerton and his authority seem to have been equally ignorant, the population of the Audiencia of Mexico was nearly 4,000,000,—represented by Clavigero, on satisfactory grounds, as upwards of 4,500,000,—stated by Estalla, on we know not what authority, at 1,200,000. The city of Mexico is said, by Estalla, to contain 140,000 inhabitants. Yet he might have learned from Raynal, that 'en 1777, le nombre de naissances s'y eleva à 5915, et celui des morts à 5011; d'où l'on peut conclure que sa population ne s'eloigné de 200,000 ames.' (*Hist. Phil. liv.* vi. § 20.) This statement, too, relates only to the fourteen parishes within the city, without including the extensive suburbs, and the immense population which inhabits them. We have before us an almanack of Mexico for the year 1802, from which we shall transcribe the table of marriages, births and deaths, in the fourteen parishes within the city.

Parroquias.	*Matrim.*	*Nac.*	*Muert.*
Sagrario -	260	1493	920
S. Miguel - -	60	403	256
Santa Catalina -	95	714	476
Santa Veracruz -	65	545	286
San Joseph -	53	374	162
Santa Ava - -	78	351	230
Santa Cruz -	82	527	206
San Sebastian -	49	411	227
Santa Maria -	46	280	354
San Pablo - -	96	603	262
Acatlan - -	21	90	54
Salto del Agua -	24	187	97
La Palma - -	10	116	58
S. Antonio -	9	61	43
Total,	948	6155	3581

The difference between the births and the deaths is here so great, the one being nearly double the other, that we may conclude Mexico to be one of the most healthy places in the world. According to Dr Price, in healthy places, the proportion of the births to the population varies from $\frac{1}{35}$ to $\frac{1}{50}$. Let us take the medium, which is probably below the mark, that is, $\frac{1}{42}$. This gives us, for the population of these 14 parishes, 295,440. Accordingly, Alcedo, a native of the country, and the author of one

of

of the best books in geography, *(Dictionario Geographico Historico de las Indias Occidentales o America, ad verb.* Mexico*)*, affirms, that the population, including the suburbs, exceeds 350,000. *El vecindario se compone de mas* 350,000 *almas de todas clases y castas.*

From all these statements, there is every reason to believe, that the computation, at eight millions, by Clavigero, for the whole population of New Spain, is not overcharged. Let us then reflect, that the whole of this population lyes to the north of the Isthmus of Panama; and that we have yet to reckon the population of the whole of South America Proper—Peru, Chili, Santa Fe, Caraccas, Buenos Ayres, &c.; which, in point of territorial extent, so many times exceed the kingdom of New Spain. Although these vast countries, with some few exceptions, as the district of Quito, and perhaps Tucuman, are not so well peopled as New Spain, yet, it is altogether impossible to suppose, that all these immense regions, taken together, do not contain as many inhabitants as that one district. Even this supposition would carry the inhabitants of the Spanish dominions in America to 16,000,000. But this supposition may be reasonably presumed to be so far below the truth, that even the computation of Viscardo may be regarded as within the mark, rather than beyond it. We have seen a statement, drawn up from the best sources of information, by one of the commissioners from South America, who met with General Miranda at Paris in 1797, which brings the population to no less than 20,000,000.

It is then to be considered, and with that maturity of reflection which so great a subject demands, what twenty millions of people, a population nearly as great as that of Old France, in a country of such vast extent and fertility, are calculated to perform, both in the way of industry and of arms, were the all-powerful encouragements of a good government once bestowed upon them. Two thirds of these, it may perhaps be objected, are Indians; and the Indians are a listless and an inactive race. True;—they have been represented as listless and indolent by their hard taskmasters the Spaniards. * But, instead of trusting to the testimony of these suspicious witnesses, let us attend to

* This was the language of taſkmaſters, we find, in very old times. 'And Pharaoh commanded, ſaying, Ye ſhall no more give the people ſtraw to make bricks; and the tale of the bricks which they did make heretofore, you ſhall lay upon them; you ſhall not diminiſh ought thereof; *for they be idle.* . . . . . Then the officers of the children of Iſrael came, and cried unto Pharaoh, ſaying, Wherefore dealeſt thou thus with thy ſervants? But he ſaid, *Ye are idle, ye are idle.* Go therefore, now, and work.'

to that of a man, at once neutral and intelligent,—Mons. Thiery de Menonville, who travelled in disguise in the kingdom of Mexico, to transplant to the French colonies the cochineal plant, and learn the concealed manner of cultivating it. ' Les Indiens sont generalement grands et bien taillés, les femmes sont assez blanches et ont les traits fort doux, on peut meme dire qu'en general elles sont belles ; *ils ne paroissent pas manquer d'industrie, mais ils n'ont ni la liberté, ni les facultés necessaires pour l'exercer.*..... Je me suis attaché dans mon voyage à observer le charactere des Africains et celui des Americains, et j'y ai remarqué des differences bien à l'avantage de ces derniers, quoique leur sort soit à-peu-pres egal, sous la domination des Espagnols. L'Africain m'a toujours paru orgueilleux, emporté, vindicatif, effeminé, lache, et surtout paresseux : le Mexicain, au contraire, est phlegmatique, doux, soumis, fidele, et *laborieux;* sa soumission ne tient nullement de la bassesse : chez les negres elle est dûe à la crainte ; chez eux à la raison, et souvent à l'attachement, car ils aiment réellement les castillans autant qu'ils abhorrent les negres. On leur voit contracter beaucoup d'alliances avec les premiers, aucune avec les derniers..... Les Americains ont cette politesse du cœur qui les rend prevenans et hospitaliers envers tous. J'ai rencontré dans mes routes mille Indiens, le salut sortoit sans effort de leur bouche du plus loin qu'ils m'appercevoient ; et combien n'ai-je pas eu à me louer de leur bonne reception ! A peine les negres daignoient-ils se courber quand je passois devant eux, et j'ai éprouvé à mon dernier gite, et ailleurs, combien ils sont peu complaisans pour les malheureux voyageurs. *Les premiers vont faire des corvées à dix et quinze lieues de leurs peuplades, ils y portent des fardeaux énormes,* mais je n'ai pu rencontrer un seul negre portant le moindre paquet, ou meme voyageant à pied.' (*Traité de la culture du Nopal, et de l'education de la Cochenille, &c. precedé d'un voyage à Guaxaca, par M. Thiery de Menonville, Avocat en Parlement et Botaniste de sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne,* v. 1, *pp.* 100, 182, 183.)

In another point of view, it has been well remarked, by La Peyrouse, that the introduction of the useful animals has had a most decided effect on the character of the natives of South America. ' Les Indiens du Chili,' says he, ' ne sont plus ces anciens Americains auquels les armes des Européens inspiraient la terreur : la multiplication des chevaux qui se sont repandus dans l'interieur des deserts immenses de l'Amerique, celle des bœufs et des moutons, qui est aussi extrêmement considerable, ont fait de ces peuples de vrais Arabes, que l'on peut comparer en tout à ceux qui habitent les deserts de l'Arabie. Sans cesse à cheval, des courses de deux cents lieues sont pour eux de tres petits voy-

ages; ils marchent avec leurs troupeaux; ils se nourrissent de leur chair, de leur lait, et quelquefois de leur sang; ils se couvrent de leur peau dont ils font des casques, des cuirasses et des boucliers. Ainsi l'introduction des deux animaux domestiques en Amerique a eu l'influence la plus marquée sur les mœurs de tous les peuples qui habitent depuis S. Iago jusqu'au detroit de Magellan; ils ne suivent presque plus aucuns de leurs anciens usages; ils ne se nourrissent plus des mêmes fruits; ils n'ont plus les mêmes vêtemens, &c..... Il est aisé de sentir combien de tels peuples doivent être redoutables aux Espagnoles,' &c. (*Voyage de La Peyrouse, ch.* 3.)

But we must cut short our notices respecting the population, that we may present to view some other indications of the extraordinary capabilities of this new, and as yet, in some sense, unknown world.

As the voyage of La Peyrouse is still before us, we are tempted to quote his testimony respecting the fertility of that part of South America which fell under his personal inspection. 'Il n'est point dans l'univers,' says he, 'de terrain plus fertile que celui de cette partie de Chili; le blé y rapporte soixante pour un; la vigne produit avec la même abondance; les campagnes sont couvertes de troupeaux innombrables qui, sans aucun soin, y multiplient au dela de toute expression..... Malgrè tant d'avantages, cette colonie est bien loin d'avoir fait les progrès qu'on devoit attendre de sa situation, la plus propre à favoriser une grande population; mais l'influence du gouvernement contrarie sans cesse celle du climat. Le regime prohibitif existe au Chili dans toute son etendue: ce royaume, *dont les productions*, si elles etaient à leur maximum, *alimenteraient la moitié de l'Europe; dont les laines suffiraient aux manufactures de France et d'Angleterre;* dont les bestiaux, employés en salaison, produiraient un revenu immense; ce royaume, dis-je, *ne fait aucun commerce.*' (Ibid.)

There are one or two of the statements here which cannot fail to attract, and that in no ordinary degree, the attention of the commercial and manufacturing world. A country, the productions of which might be carried to that amount, as to feed the half of Europe, offers a field of extraordinary promise to the enterprise of the active nations of the globe. A country, of which the wools would supply the manufactures of both France and England, must be one of the most interesting regions on the face of the earth, to the country the most remarkable in the world for its woollen manufactures, at the moment when the great mart of the raw commodity is in danger of being cut off from her.

The navigation, too, of the isthmus of Panama brings Chili, as it were, to our door; and the wools of Chili may reach us at little

little more than the cost of Jamaica cotton. This circumstance renders the practicability of that navigation an object, if possible, of still higher importance. There are several circumstances in proof of its facility, which we are now enabled to add to the illustrations we presented in a former Number. The subject, indeed, is so interesting, and so little is known about it, that we are anxious to give all the information relative to it in our power.

In the year 1805, a spherical chart of the sea of the Antilles, and of the coast of Terra Firma, from the island of Trinidad to the gulph of Honduras, was constructed in the hydrographical department, by order of the Spanish government, from scientific surveys. By this chart an important discovery was made. The Bay of Mandinga, an immense inlet of the sea, commencing about ten leagues to the eastward of Porto Bello, penetrates into the isthmus to within five leagues of the Pacific Ocean. This prodigious bason, which is almost closed by a chain of islands, running close to one another at the mouth, has never been navigated by any Europeans except Spaniards; and was never supposed to run back, to any considerable extent, into the country, as all the old charts in which it is marked abundantly testify. A river, from the name of which the Bay is denominated, falls into the bottom of this gulph. This river is navigable; and, we know, comes very near a branch of the Chepo, a large river which falls into the gulph of Panama. We are not yet furnished with any satisfactory details on the navigable state or capabilities of these rivers; but from what Alcedo tells us,*—from the circumstance of their navigation being prohibited by the Spanish government under pain of death, on the express ground, that it might discover the facility of the passage to the South Sea,—and from the fact of the Buccaneers having actually penetrated from sea to sea in this direction, we are entitled to conclude, that extraordinary facilities for the great enterprise are here presented. The Bay has ten fathoms water at the entrance, which increase to eleven in the middle, and it has six fathoms to the very bottom.

* The passage of Alcedo is worth transcribing.—'El Rio referido (Mandinga) nace en las montanas de Chepo, y corre al E hasta desembocar en la Ensenada, á quien da nombre: su curso es de 4 leguas, y está prohibida su navegacion con pena de la vida, por la facilidad con que se puede internar por el á la mar del Sur, como lo hicieron el ano de 1679 los piratas Juan Guarlem, Edwardo Blomen, y Bartolomé Charps. La Ensenada dicha en la Costa de la Provincia y Gobierno del Darien y mar del Sur en el mismo Reyno, es grande, hermosa y abrigada,' &c. *Alcedo, Diction. Geog. ad verb.* Mandinga.

With respect to the passage by the river Chagre to Panama, concerning which we, in a former article, presented some statements, Herrera, the famed historian of South America, informs us, that Captain Serna, Alvaro de Guijo, and Francisco Gonzalez, regidores of Panama, surveyed the isthmus for the purpose of ascertaining the facilities of transporting goods from the one sea to the other. 'They found that vessels might proceed up the river Grande three leagues from Panama with the tide; and that from this place to that part of the Chagre to which vessels would ascend, was only nine leagues, the greater part of the ground flat, and so free of all obstructions, that a good road for carriages of burthen could be formed at little expense. From the mouth of the Chagre the tide ascends ten leagues; and the river is deep, with the bottom clear. Even as high up as these surveyors proposed the navigation to extend, they say that lighters might proceed with sails, in the time of the breezes *(en tiempo de brisas)*; at other times, the object was to be accomplished by rowing.' *(Herrera, vol.* ii. *decad.* iv. *lib.* i. *cap.* 9.*)*. By this indubitable authority, then, it appears, that a canal of nine leagues, through a country mostly flat, is all that is wanting to complete the navigation across the isthmus of Panama; the rivers Chagre and Grande performing the rest.

Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo, *alias* de Valdès, addressing himself to Charles the Fifth, affirms, on his own knowledge, as a man who had seen the spot, and twice crossed the isthmus on his own feet *(por sus pies)* in the year 1521, that there are only four leagues, of very good road, fit for carriages of burthen, from Panama to the navigable part of the river Chagre, most of the way being flat, and the elevations, where they do occur, inconsiderable. 'Your Majesty,' continues the narrator 'perceives what a marvellous thing this is, and how great the adaptation to the end I propose; that the river Chagre has its source at only two leagues from the South Sea, and discharges itself into the North; a river, rapid, broad, large and deep, and so well adapted to the end proposed, that I could not mention, or imagine, or desire, any thing more so.' (See this curious address in *Barcia Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales, cap.* lxxxvii.)

The following passage of De Pradt informs us of a very recent speculation on this most interesting subject:—'Enfin, sous Charles III, il y a à-peu-pres quinze ans, on a proposé d'effectuer ce grand plan, en travaillant sur le lac de Nicaragua. Il n'est separé de la mer du Sud que pas un espace de douze mille toises, et il verse dans le Golfe de Mexique par la riviere de Saint-Jean. Il paroit donc prêter beaucoup à l'execution de ce plan, dont l'accomplissement feroit de ce lac et du Mexique, *le centre du commerce du monde.*

Là

Là s'eleveroient des villes rivalles d'Amsterdam et de Cadix. Là en choissant bien l'emplacement des nouvelles cités et des nouvelles habitations, en repetant ce que les Americains font chez eux, *on eleveroit aux arts, au commerce, à l'industrie, à la richesse, le plus beau monument qu'ils aient jamais fait naître.' (Les Trois Ages de Colonies, par M. de Pradt, à Paris* 1801, *v.* i. *p.* 224.)

It is now high time for the people of Great Britain to view with courage and with wisdom those great interests of theirs which are involved in the fate of South America. The question is not about the destination of a sugar island, or the occupation of a barren rock in the Mediterranean;—it is about the fate of twenty millions of men, and of a country of such boundless extent and varied fertility, as to be capable, perhaps, of affording a luxurious subsistence to all the existing individuals of the human race.

The only satisfactory manner of discussing this question is, to consider all the ways in which the present crisis of South American affairs can possibly terminate; to fix the eye upon that issue by which the interests of our own country are most likely to be promoted; and to inquire what we can possibly do to bring it about. A few of the more obvious considerations is all that it falls within our province to suggest. To set our countrymen in the right track in a question of such magnitude as this, would be consolation and honour enough for a higher ambition than ours.

The possible modes in which the present crisis in the affairs of South America can terminate, may be conceived as follows.

I. Spain, the mother country, may remain independent.

II. Or, Spain may become subject to Bonaparte.

I. If Spain remains independent, South America may, 1. remain united with her in the ſtate of vaſſalage in which ſhe has hitherto been held. 2. It may remain united with her in her free aſſociation or union, as that of Ireland with Great Britain. 3. It may revolt from her by the aſſiſtance of Bonaparte. 4. It may revolt from her by the aſſiſtance of Great Britain. 5. It may revolt from her without any aſſiſtance.

II. If Spain becomes ſubject to Bonaparte, South America may, 1. remain united with her in the ſtate of vaſſalage,—but not in a free aſſociation; becauſe to a deſpotic crown there is no union of ſubjects otherwiſe than by vaſſalage. 2. South America may aſſert its independence with the aſſiſtance of Great Britain. 3. It may aſſert its independence without any aſſiſtance.

Let us conſider theſe poſſibilities in their order.

I. 1. Spain remaining independent, South America may remain in her ancient ſtate of vaſſalage. There is no human being, we believe, who profeſſes to be of opinion that this would be the event

moſt deſirable, in regard to the intereſts of Great Britain. This is that very condition of the Spaniſh colonies which has been in this country ſo long and ſo deeply deplored; which has rendered all the bleſſings ſhowered by nature upon thoſe vaſt regions of the globe, unfruitful both to the inhabitants and to the reſt of the human ſpecies. In this moment of unexampled exigency for Great Britain, this is the ſtate of things which would deprive her of those countervailing reſources, to which the loſs of her European reſources gives ſo extraordinary a value.

In ſpite of all this, our Government, we find, has just entered into a treaty, guaranteeing the integrity of the whole Spaniſh dominions. If this mean any thing else, than that, while that treaty ſubſiſts, we ſhall not ourſelves do any thing to detach any part of theſe dominions, it means ſomething which it would both be impolitic and impoſſible for us to perform. Theſe colonies are in reality of no uſe to Spain. They would be of no uſe even to Great Britain, who is ſo much better able to turn them to advantage; and no wiſe man, we are confident, would adviſe this country to accept of ſuch a ſovereignty, even if it were tendered to her by the free will of the inhabitants. But the ſtipulation, in this ſenſe of it, is fortunately as impracticable as it is impolitic. If, by engaging to guarantee the integrity of the Spaniſh empire, we meant to bind ourſelves to prevent the South Americans from becoming independent, by fighting againſt them, if they ſhould attempt to become ſo—we ſhall only aſk, whether, if we were to employ all the forces of Great Britain in ſuch a conflict, they would be ſufficient for the purpoſe? Could we, if we were mad enough to ſtake Great Britain upon the conteſt, prevent the independence of South America, if South America were reſolved to be independent? But allowing that the forces of Great Britain were competent to the taſk, have we any to ſpare for it? Is not the buſineſs of Europe, at the preſent moment, nearly as much as we are competent to? Is not the concern of our own defence, one which the extraordinary circumſtances of the times, and the exorbitant drains which we have ſo long ſuſtained, render nearly commenſurate with our reſources? The ſtipulation, then, to guarantee the ſubjection of the Spaniſh colonies, is a ſtipulation which, if the Spaniſh colonies do not pleaſe to be ſubject, that is to ſay, if ever the event is to take place which can render the ſtipulation of any uſe, we cannot take a ſtep to fulfil. But ſuppoſe the contrary; ſuppoſe we were actually in readineſs to ſend a body of troops to reſiſt the emancipation of South America; of all probable things the moſt probable—if we muſt not call it certain, is, that Bonaparte would offer his aſſiſtance to the South Americans, and that they would accept it. If ſo, we have abundant experience, that it is no impoſſible

poſſible thing for him to ſend troops to South America; and it will then be for us to conſider in what manner, and to what degree a French army fighting in South America, on the ſide of the people, and againſt us, would be likely to promote the good, and prevent the evil of the Britiſh nation.

I. 2. Spain remaining independent, South America may continue joined to her in a free aſſociation. For this purpoſe it is indiſpenſably neceſſary that Spain ſhould give to herſelf a free government. A deſpotical government in Spain can never do otherwiſe than govern the colonies deſpotically. There is no free aſſociation of ſubjects with an arbitrary crown:—it is a contradiction in terms.

It is probably a concluſion already fixed in the breaſts of moſt of our readers, that it is only by giving to herſelf a free government, that Spain has any chance either of regaining her independence, or, what is more, of keeping it long if it were regained. We hear of the national cortez, and of the eſtabliſhment of a repreſentative government, in which the colonies are to be invited to partake; a liberal, it will be ſaid, and beneficial propoſal this, in which the ſuffrages of all reaſonable men will unite. A very little reflection will ſuffice to unveil its real character.

In forming a repreſentative ſyſtem for the different diſtricts of a large country, the only ſafe and equitable rule perhaps is to follow the proportion of population, which always, on a large ſcale, gives you very exactly the proportion of property alſo. If you proceed on any other ground, you lay injuſtice at the foundation of your whole ſtructure. On this principle, the repreſentatives from South America in the cortez of Spain, muſt be nearly twice as numerous as thoſe from Spain itſelf. The repreſentatives from South America become then the governors of Spain, and South America is the metropolitan country; it ought therefore to be the ſeat of government, and would ſoon become ſo; for the preponderating repreſentatives from South America would vote for the tranſfer. The conſequence, however, would probably be, that the Spaniards would not ſubmit,—and the union would be diſſolved by a civil war nearly as ſoon as formed.

Suppoſe that the colonies would be ſatisfied by being put upon an equal footing with the mother country; and that the difference ſhould be compromiſed, by agreeing that each ſhould have an equal number of repreſentatives. In this caſe, the intereſts of the two parties would be ſet ſo directly in oppoſition, and their powers ſo nearly balanced, that nothing but perpetual ſtruggles and contention, with conſequent miſrule, and all its attendant miſeries, would be the reſult; till this ill contrived aſſociation would ſpeedily diſſolve itſelf.

If the Spaniards should propose to form a representative system, in which the population of South America, so much greater than their own, should only have a small subordinate share; there is, in the first place, every probability that the people of South America would not submit to this inferiority; and, in the next place, their situation would be no otherwise changed, than that formerly they were governed by a number of leading Spaniards, assembled in what was called the Council of the Indies, and that then they would be governed by a somewhat larger number of leading Spaniards, assembled in what would probably be called the Cortez. The chance accordingly is, that they would be worse governed in the latter case than in the former:—Because the members of the Council of the Indies were men, in general, chosen expressly for their knowledge of American affairs; the representatives in the Cortez would not be expressly chosen for that knowledge. The members of the Council of the Indies were subject to some kind of responsibility; the representatives would be subject to none. The members of the Council of the Indies had no other duty assigned them but that of attending to the government of America; to the representatives in the Cortez, this would only be one among a great many duties, and one which, in the scale of importance, could never be expected to stand very high.

I. 3. Spain remaining independent, the colonies may become independent by the assistance of Bonaparte. If we mistake not, this is a contingency which, in this country, is not greatly apprehended. We trust to our fleets for keeping the transatlantic regions pure of the contamination of French armies. Of the possible combinations of circumstances, however, there are several, and these by no means very unlikely, in which this would be a danger worthy of any thing rather than of contempt. Suppose that Spain having fairly delivered herself from the arms of Bonaparte, and the colonies declaring their determination to be independent, Spain should, in pursuance of the treaty now existing, claim and receive the navy and army of Great Britain, to aid in subduing what she would call the rebellion; in these circumstances, is it any thing less than certain that Bonaparte would both desire, and would be able to send an army to the support of the colonies? If the colonies, thus supported, would without any doubt baffle Spain and England attacking them, we should then have South America independent, united in friendship with France, and standing in enmity with England. If any thing more is wanting to complete the cup of English misfortune, it would be this.

Another contingency, and one, we are afraid, still more probable,

bable, is, that Great Britain hanging off, in consequence of the present treaty, in a state something between active discouragement and mere neutrality, the South Americans becoming divided among themselves, one party may call in Bonaparte, and by its efficacy give him the means of acquiring the ascendancy in the country.

I. 4. Spain remaining independent, the colonies may become free by the assistance of Great Britain. Of all possible combinations in this interesting case, this, it is evident, would be, in every possible way, the most advantageous to our own country. The power of Bonaparte, not augmented, but baffled and impaired by the power of Spain, would cease to be formidable to us in Europe; while all the vast, and then rapidly improving, resources of South America, would become subservient to our aggrandisement and prosperity.

I. 5. Spain remaining independent, the colonies may erect a government for themselves, without any external assistance. This contingency is the less probable, because, in almost all possible cases, if these colonies do not obtain the assistance of England, they will be sure to get that of France. That they are fully competent, however, to set at nought the opposition of the mother country alone, there cannot remain a doubt: nay, that the interest of the mother country is so low, that scarcely would there be found adherents of her's in the country, sufficient even to form a party, is more than probable. But without some authority, to which all parties would look up, and Great Britain is admirably situated to perform the part of such a benefactor, there would be differences of views, which would be troublesome, and might prove mischievous. Yet they have the example of North America to guide them; and, very possibly, that example might guide them right. The course, too, they would have to steer, is so very plain, that two or three good heads, under the strong influence of good intention, would be sufficient to retain them in the salutary track.

Such is a slight, and, for that reason, an imperfect, analysis of the prospect presented by South America, in the contingency of the mother country remaining independent. We now come to a similar analysis of the prospect presented, if the mother country loses her independence. This is the side of the alternative on which we lay by far the greatest stress, because it is to be considered as by far the most probable; but so much of what we have stated on the former side of the case is applicable to this, that we hope to be able to say what remains in few words.

II. 1. If Spain loses her independence, the colonies may remain united to her, under a subjection resembling that to which she has hitherto submitted. That this is the result, above all others, which every British mind must join in deprecating, needs not be mentioned.

mentioned. It is a result which, among the possible contingencies of the case, we think is not one of the most likely to happen. Yet no trifling powers would be set in operation to accomplish it. If Bonaparte succeeds in all his present schemes, of which the subjugation of Spain must form the last part, his power will be terrible indeed; and the motives he will be capable of holding out—motives of formidable efficacy. Those natives of Spain, in whose hands the government of South America is now placed, will have potent inducements for looking still to Spain; and by leaving the channel of interest still open to them in that country, their cooperation in behalf of its government, in whose hands soever that government may be placed, can easily be raised to any pitch of zeal and activity. That Bonaparte, in the case of the final subjugation of Spain, will have the Spanish viceroys, the audiencias, and the great functionaries of all descriptions, on his side, is an event that ought to be calculated upon, with very few exceptions, as absolutely certain. How important the influence which the powers of government impart to those who wield them, needs not to be insisted on; nor the weight which this primary circumstance must add to all the other means which it would then be in the power of our enemy to employ. One of the circumstances, the most powerful of all in giving efficacy to the seductive means of Bonaparte, would be, hatred of Great Britain, if the refusal on her part to take an interest in the fate of the South Americans, or an invidious preference of the interests of their old and hated oppressor, should rouse among that people sentiments of aversion and hostility. That these sentiments, calculated to be very fatal to the interests of this country, will be excited, the conduct hitherto pursued by our ministers, and the conduct which, from their character, we may foresee they will continue to pursue, give us the strongest reason to apprehend.

Nothing, if Bonaparte becomes master of Old Spain, seems capable of preventing his becoming, at the same time, master of America, but the strong and irresistible determination of the American people to be no longer dependent. If that determination be, as we suppose it to be, already come to maturity, then will it triumph over all the obstacles which the power of Bonaparte can oppose to it. If it be, as many people among us seem to imagine, sufficiently weak to permit the colonies still to remain quietly under their antient oppressors, what force will remain in a supposed antipathy to the mere name of Frenchman, (and which will not be found to exist, *) in resisting the efficacious means of Bonaparte?

* The history of Liniers at Buenos Ayres affords, without any thing more, abundant proof, that to the authority of Frenchmen, *as Frenchmen*, the people of South America have no antipathy.

naparte? In the contingency of Spanish subjugation, now, alas! by far the most probable contingency, the determination of the South Americans to be independent is the only bulwark on which we have to rely, against one of the most calamitous events that can befal our country. The light which this throws upon the treaty under which we now act, is strong and instructive.

II. 2. Spain being subdued, the colonies may acquire independence by the assistance of Great Britain. That is the event which, above all others, it remains for us, in such a case, to desire, and which, we have the consolation of thinking, will be equally popular as desirable. By this assistance, the progress of that great revolution might be so guided, as to produce the greatest possible good at once to us, to the Spaniards, and to the people principally concerned. How much, or how little, probable the subjugation of Spain, was a point that seriously deserved the consideration of those who framed the treaty so often alluded to; for, if the chance of Bonaparte's success did not approach to impossibility,—to tie up our hands, by a treaty, from taking measures to prevent the extension of his influence to South America, was an instance of misconduct among the grossest to be found in the huge library of ministerial imbecilities. Never did a great event offer greater facilities in the execution, than the regeneration of South America by the helping hand of the British government. Little more, in fact, is necessary, than to go and offer to the people a rallying point, and to employ that wisdom and coolness which a third party might so easily possess, in preventing an inexperienced people, in the heat of a great change, from running into confusion. With what rapidity would the fruits of so noble a conduct begin to be felt! How sublime the distinction of having once again set an example of such beneficent interference in the affairs of nations! The revolt of the Dutch from the misgovernment of Spain—a revolt so fruitful in benefits to the human race—was rendered triumphant, in a great measure, through British means. The wisdom of Queen Elizabeth and her ministers saw the magnitude of the occasion, and did not let it slip. But what were the advantages immediately offered to Great Britain by the freedom of Holland, compared with those promised by the freedom of South America? Great, too, as were at that time the dangers to this country from the enmity and power of a Philip the Second, the enmity and power of a Bonaparte are infinitely more formidable. In its wise and beneficent acts, it is happy for a country to emulate itself. For there are precedents which it is useful to follow; as well as others, the offspring of folly and sinister interest—which it is no less useful to avoid.

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II. 3. Spain becoming subject to Bonaparte, South America may assert her independence without any assistance. If the alarming treaty so often alluded to, acting upon a correspondent state of mind in the rulers of Great Britain, shall so tie up the hands of this country, as to make her defer her interference till it be too late, it then remains for us to desire, and to desire with inexpressible earnestness, that the South Americans may erect an independence for themselves; otherwise subjection under Bonaparte is the only remaining alternative. * Many, however, are the difficulties with which the people of South America will have to contend, in performing the work of regeneration for themselves; difficulties which it would be so easy for the hand of Great Britain to remove. The influence, for example, so dangerous, of all the agents of the Spanish government, the influence of Great Britain would immediately annihilate. All these sudden and irregular impulses which are so apt to hurry into dangerous situations in a moment of great change, the gentle influence of a moderating and friendly power, would be most salutary in allaying. All those dissensions which the passions of disagreeing parties are so apt, in similar situations, to inflame into open resistance and bloodshed, a protecting power, cultivating and deserving the esteem of all parties, might easily temper and guide. Who can contemplate the delightful results of such an interference as this, without lamenting the chances that it will yet

* We are happy at last to be able to say, that ours is not the only voice which has been lifted up to impress these salutary considerations on the public. On the 31st of May, Mr Ponsonby said, in the House of Commons, 'His opinion was, that the cause of Spain and Portugal would fail; and that, before long, the power of France would be as great in those countries as in the rest of the Continent. The conduct of our government, therefore, ought to be to secure their insular and foreign settlements. He meant, that we should hold out to South America, &c. to become independent; that Joseph Bonaparte might not in reality, as he already was in name, be king of the Indies. To hold out the idea of Ferdinand the Seventh, as the head of an American government, would be the height of folly. If the people of South America chose that he should be their king, that altered the case. But he hoped there was nothing to entangle this country with him, contrary to the inclination of those who had been his subjects. If this country, however, chose to put off the matter too long, he much apprehended, when the power of France was fully settled in Old Spain, it would be able to draw a great part of New Spain along with it. He stated this now, because next Session it might be too late.'—*See Parliamentary Report for June 1st*, 1809.

yet be defeated? If so, if the people of South America must be left to themselves, it would be presumption in any one to pretend to foresee what may be the consequences. So firmly are we convinced that the minds of the South Americans are matured for a revolution, that we think the crisis still would end well. Yet, when the seeds of evil, which in such a situation can never be wanting, are allowed to spring and vegetate, without any exterminating hand; above all, with such a cultivating and fostering hand as that of Bonaparte to promote their growth; it is impossible not to dread what such a mixture of elements may bring forth. One thing is abundantly certain, that the people of South America, beholding themselves abandoned to all the hazards of a revolution, by a people who had the power, by little more than an act of volition, to save them from a peril so tremendous, must conceive an antipathy to that people, which ages may not suffice to eradicate.

ART. V. *Characters of the late Charles James Fox.* By Philopatris Varvicenſis. 2 vol. 8vo.

THIS ſingular work conſiſts of a collection of all the panegyrics paſſed upon Mr Fox, after his deceaſe, in periodical publications, ſpeeches, ſermons, or elſewhere,—in a paneygyric upon Mr Fox by Philopatris himſelf,—and in a volume of notes by the ſaid Philopatris upon the ſaid panegyric.

Of the panegyrics, that by Sir James Macintoſh appears to us to be by far the beſt. It is remarkable for good ſenſe, acting upon a perfect knowledge of his ſubject, for ſimplicity, and for feeling. Amid the languid or turgid efforts of mediocrity, it is delightful to notice the ſkill, attention and reſources, of a ſuperior man,—of a man, too, who ſeems to feel what he writes,—who does not aim at conveying his meaning in rhetorical and ornamented phraſes, but who uſes plain words to expreſs ſtrong ſenſations. We cannot help wiſhing, indeed, that Sir James Macintoſh had been more diffuſe upon the political character of Mr Fox; the great feature of whoſe life, was the long and unwearied oppoſition which he made to the low cunning, the profligate extravagance, the ſycophant mediocrity, and the ſtupid obſtinacy of the Engliſh court.

To eſtimate the merit, and the difficulty of this oppoſition, we muſt remember the enormous influence which the Crown, through the medium of its patronage, exerciſes in the remoteſt corners of the kingdom,—the number of ſubjects whom it pays,—the much greater number whom it keeps in a ſtate of expectation,—and the ferocious turpitude of thoſe mercenaries, whoſe preſent profits,

fits, and future hopes, are threatened by honeſt, and expoſed by eloquent men. It is the eaſieſt of all things, too, in this country, to make Engliſhmen believe, that thoſe who oppoſe the Government wiſh to ruin the country. The Engliſh are a very buſy people; and, with all the faults of their governors, they are ſtill a very happy people. They have, as they ought to have, a perfect confidence in the adminiſtration of juſtice. The rights which the different claſſes of mankind exerciſe the one over the other, are arranged upon equitable principles. Life, liberty and property, are protected from the violence and caprice of power. The viſible and immediate ſtake, therefore, for which Engliſh politicians play, is not large enough to attract the notice of the people, and to call them off from their daily occupations, to inveſtigate thoroughly the characters and motives of men engaged in the buſineſs of legiſlation. The people can only underſtand, and attend to the laſt reſults of a long ſeries of meaſures. They are impatient of the details which lead to theſe reſults; and it is the eaſieſt of all things to make them believe, that thoſe who inſiſt upon ſuch details, are actuated only by factious motives. We are all now groaning under the weight of taxes: but how often was Mr Fox followed by the curſes of his country, for proteſting againſt the two wars which have loaded us with theſe taxes?—the one of which wars has made America independent, and the other rendered France omnipotent. The caſe is the ſame with all the branches of public liberty. If the broad and palpable queſtion were, whether every book which iſſues from the preſs ſhould be ſubjected to the licenſe of a general cenſor, it would be impoſſible to blacken the character of any man who, ſo called upon, defended the liberty of publiſhing opinions. But, when the Attorney-General for the time being, ingratiates himſelf with the court, by nibbling at this valuable privilege of the people, it is very eaſy to treat hoſtility to his meaſures, as a minute and frivolous oppoſition to the Government, and to perſuade the maſs of mankind that it is ſo. In fact, when a nation has become free, it is extremely difficult to perſuade them, that their freedom is only to be preſerved by perpetual and minute jealouſy. They do not obſerve that there is a conſtant, perhaps an unconſcious effort on the part of their governors, to diminiſh, and ſo ultimately to deſtroy that freedom. They ſtupidly imagine that what is, will always be; and, contented with the good they have already gained, are eaſily perſuaded to ſuſpect and vilify thoſe friends—the object of whoſe life it is to preſerve that good, and to increaſe it.

It was the lot of Mr Fox to fight this battle for the greater part of his life; in the courſe of which time, he never was ſeduced by the love of power, wealth, nor popularity, to ſacri-

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fice the happineſs of the many to the intereſts of the few. He rightly thought, that kings, and all public officers, were inſtituted only for the good of thoſe over whom they preſide; and he acted as if this conviction was always preſent to his mind; diſdaining and withſtanding that idolatrous tendency of mankind, by which they ſo often not only ſuffer, but invite ruin from that power which they themſelves have wiſely created for their own happineſs. He loved, too, the happineſs of his countrymen more than their favour; and while others were exhauſting the reſources, by flattering the ignorant prejudices and fooliſh paſſions of the country, Mr Fox was content to be odious to the people, ſo long as he could be uſeful alſo. It will be long before we witneſs again ſuch pertinacious oppoſition to the alarming power of the Crown, and to the follies of our public meaſures, the neceſſary conſequence of that power. That ſuch oppoſition ſhould ever be united again with ſuch extraordinary talents, it is perhaps in vain to hope.

One little exception to the eulogium of Sir James Mackintoſh upon Mr Fox, we cannot help making. We are no admirers of Mr Fox's poetry. His *Vers de Société* appear to us flat and inſipid. To write verſes was the only thing which Mr Fox ever attempted to do, without doing it well. In that ſingle inſtance he ſeems to have miſtaken his talent.

Immediately after the collection of Panegyrics which theſe volumes contain, follows the Eulogium of Mr Fox by Philopatris himſelf; and then a volume of notes upon a variety of topics which this eulogium has ſuggeſted. Of the laudatory talents of this Warwickſhire patriot, we ſhall preſent our readers with a ſpecimen.

'Mr Fox, though not an adept in the uſe of political wiles, was very unlikely to be the dupe of them.—He was converſant in the ways of man, as well as in the contents of books.—He was acquainted with the peculiar language of ſtates, their peculiar forms, and the grounds and effects of their peculiar uſages.—From his earlieſt youth, he had inveſtigated the ſcience of politics in the greater and the ſmaller ſcale; he had ſtudied it in the records of hiſtory, both popular and rare, in the conferences of ambaſſadors, in the archives of royal cabinets, in the minuter detail of memoirs, and in collected or ſtraggling anecdotes of the wrangles, intrigues, and cabals, which, ſpringing up in the ſecret receſſes of courts, ſhed their baneful influence on the determinations of ſovereigns, the fortune of favourites, and the tranquillity of kingdoms.—But that ſtateſmen of all ages, like prieſts of all religions, are in all reſpects alike, is a doctrine the propagation of which he left, as an inglorious privilege, to the miſanthrope, to the recluſe, to the factious incendiary, and to the unlettered multitude. For himſelf, he thought it

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no very extraordinary stretch of penetration or charity, to admit that human nature is every where nearly as capable of emulation in good, as in evil.—He boasted of no very exalted heroism, in opposing the calmness and firmness of conscious integrity, to the shuffling and slippery movements, the feints in retreat, and feints in advance, the dread of being overreached, or detected in attempts to overreach, and all the other humiliating and mortifying anxieties of the most accomplished proficients in the art of diplomacy.—He reproached himself for no guilt, when he endeavoured to obtain that respect and confidence, which the human heart unavoidably feels in its intercourse with persons, who neither wound our pride, nor take aim at our happiness, in a war of hollow and ambiguous words.—He was sensible of no weakness in believing that politicians, who, after all, "know only as they are known," may, like other human beings, be at first the involuntary creatures of circumstances, and seem incorrigible from the want of opportunities or incitements to correct themselves; that, bereft of the pleas usually urged in vindication of deceit, by men who are fearful of being deceived, they, in their official dealings with him, would not wantonly lavish the stores they had laid up for huckstering in a traffic, which, ceasing to be profitable, would begin to be infamous; and that, possibly, here and there, if encouraged by example, they might learn to prefer the shorter process, and surer results of plain-dealing, to the delays, the vexations, and the uncertain or transient success, both of old-fashioned and newfangled chicanery.' I. 209–211.

It is impossible to read this singular book, without being everywhere struck with the lofty and honourable feelings, the enlightened benevolence, and sterling honesty with which it abounds. Its author is everywhere the circumspect friend of those moral and religious principles, upon which the happiness of society rests. Though he is never timid, nor prejudiced, nor bigotted, his piety, not prudish and full of antiquated and affected tricks, presents itself with an earnest aspect, and in a manly form; obedient to reason, prone to investigation, and dedicated to honest purposes. The writer, a clergyman, speaks of himself as a very independent man, who has always expressed his opinions without any fear of consequences, or any hope of bettering his condition. We sincerely believe he speaks the truth; and revere him for the life which he has led. Political independence—discouraged enough in these times among all classes of men—is sure, in the timid profession of the church, to doom a man to eternal poverty and obscurity.

There are occasionally, in Philopatris, a great vigour of style, and felicity of expression. His display of classical learning is quite unrivalled—his reading various and good; and we may observe, at intervals, a talent for wit, of which he might have availed himself to excellent purpose, had it been compatible with the

the dignified style in which he generally conveys his sentiments. With all these excellent qualities of head and heart, we have seldom met with a writer more full of faults than Philopatris. There is an event recorded in the Bible, which men who write books should keep constantly in their remembrance. It is there set forth, that many centuries ago, the earth was covered with a great flood, by which the whole of the human race, with the exception of one family, were destroyed. It appears also, that, from thence, a great alteration was made in the longevity of mankind, who, from a range of seven or eight hundred years, which they enjoyed before the flood, were confined to their present period of seventy or eighty years. This epoch in the history of man, gave birth to the twofold division of the antediluvian and the postdiluvian style of writing; the latter of which naturally contracted itself into these inferior limits, which were better accommodated to the abridged duration of human life and literary labour. Now, to forget this event,—to write without the fear of the deluge before his eyes, and to handle a subject as if mankind could lounge over a pamphlet for ten years, as before their submersion, is to be guilty of the most grievous error into which a writer can possibly fall. The author of this book should call in the aid of some brilliant pencil, and cause the distressing scenes of the deluge to be pourtrayed in the most lively colours for his use. He should gaze at Noah, and be brief. The ark should constantly remind him of the little time there is left for reading; and he should learn, as they did in the ark, to crowd a great deal of matter into a very little compass.

Philopatris must not only condense what he says in a narrower compass, but he must say it in a more natural manner. Some persons can neither stir hand nor foot, without making it clear, that they are thinking of themselves, and laying little traps for approbation. In the course of two long volumes, the Patriot of Warwick is perpetually studying modes and postures:—the subject is the second consideration, and the mode of expression the first. Indeed, whole pages together seem to be mere exercises upon the English language, to evince the copiousness of our synonymes, and to show the various methods in which the parts of speech can be marshalled and arrayed. This, which would be tiresome in the ephemeral productions of a newspaper, is intolerable in two closely printed volumes.

Again, strange as it may appear to this author to say so, he must not fall into the frequent mistake of rural politicians, by supposing that the understandings of all Europe are occupied with him and his opinions. His ludicrous self-importance is perpetually destroying the effect of virtuous feeling and just observation, leaving

his readers with a diſpoſition to laugh, where they might otherwiſe learn and admire.

'I have been asked, why, after pointing out by name the persons who seemed to me most qualified for reforming our Penal Code, I declined mentioning such ecclesiastics as might with propriety be employed in preparing for the use of churches a grave and impressive discourse on the authority of human laws; and as other men may ask the same question which my friend did, I have determined, after some deliberation, to insert the substance of my answer in this place.

'If the public service of our church should ever be directly employed in giving effect to the sanctions of our Penal Code, the office of drawing up such a discourse as I have ventured to recommend, would, I suppose, be assigned to more than one person. My ecclesiastical superiors will, I am sure, make a wise choice. But they will hardly condemn me for saying, that the best sense expressed in the best language, may be expected from the Bishops of Landaff Lincoln, St Davids, Cloyne, and Norwich, the Dean of Christ Church, and the President of Magdalen College, Oxford. I mean not to throw the slightest reproach upon other dignitaries whom I have not mentioned. But I should imagine that few of my enlightened contemporaries hold an opinion different from my own, upon the masculine understanding of a Watson, the sound judgment of a Tomlin, the extensive erudition of a Burgess, the exquisite taste and goodnature of a Bennet, the calm and enlightened benevolence of a Bathurst, the various and valuable attainmentss of a Cyril Jackson, or the learning, wisdom, integrity, and piety of a Martin Routh.' p. 524-5.

In the name of common modeſty, what could it have ſignified, whether this author had given a liſt of eccleſiaſtics whom he thought qualified to preach about human laws? what is his opinion worth? who called for it? who wanted it? how many millions will be influenced by it?—And who, oh gracious Heaven! who are *a* Burgeſs,—*a* Tomlin,—*a* Bennet,—*a* Cyril Jackſon,—*a* Martin Routh?—A *Tom*,—a *Jack*,—a Harry,—a Peter? All good men enough in their generation doubtleſs they are. But what have they done for the broad *a*? what has any one of them perpetrated which will make him be remembered, out of the ſphere of his private virtues, ſix months after his deceaſe? Surely, ſcholars and gentlemen can drink tea with each other, and eat bread and butter, without all this laudatory cackling.

Philopatris has employed a great deal of time upon the ſubject of capital puniſhments, and has evinced a great deal of very laudable tenderneſs and humanity in diſcuſſing it. We are ſcarcely, however, converts to that ſyſtem which would totally aboliſh the puniſhment of death. That it is much too frequently inflicted in this country, we readily admit; but we ſuſpect it will be always neceſſary to reſerve it for the moſt pernicious crimes. Death is the moſt terrible

terrible punishment to the common people, and therefore the most preventive. It does not perpetually outrage the feelings of those who are innocent, and likely to remain innocent, as would be the case from the spectacle of convicts working in the high-roads, and public places. Death is the most economical punishment; and it is, of course, the most irrevocable punishment, which is in some sense a good; for, however necessary it might be to inflict labour and imprisonment for life, it would never be done. Kings and Legislatures would take pity after a great lapse of years; the punishment would be remitted, and its preventive efficacy, therefore, destroyed. We agree with Philopatris, that the executions should be more solemn; but still the English are not of a very dramatic turn, and the thing must not be got up too finely. Philopatris, and Mr Jeremy Bentham before him, lay a vast stress upon the promulgation of laws, and treat the inattention of the English Government to this point, as a serious evil. It may be so—but we do not happen to remember any man punished for an offence which he did not know to be an offence; though he might not know exactly the degree in which it was punishable. Who are to read the laws to the people? who would listen to them if they were read? who would comprehend them if they listened? In a science like law there must be technical phrases, known only to professional men: business could not be carried on without them: and of what avail would it be to repeat such phrases to the people? Again, What laws are to be repeated, and in what places? Is a law respecting the number of threads on the shuttle of a Spitalfields weaver to be read to the corn-growers of the Isle of Thanet? If not, who is to make the selection? If the law cannot be comprehended by listening to the *viva voce* repetition, is the reader to explain it, and are there to be law lectures all over the kingdom? The fact is, that the evil does not exist. Those who are likely to commit the offence soon scent out the newly devised punishments, and have been long thoroughly acquainted with the old ones. Of the nice applications of the law they are indeed ignorant; but they purchase the requisite skill of some man whose business it is to acquire it; and so they get into less mischief by trusting to others, than they would do if they pretended to inform themselves. The people, it is true, are ignorant of the laws; but they are ignorant only of the laws which do not concern them. A poacher knows nothing of the penalties to which he exposes himself by stealing ten thousand pounds from the public. Commissioners of public boards are unacquainted with all the decretals of our ancestors respecting the wiring of hares; but the one pockets his extra percentage, and the other his leveret, with a perfect knowledge of the laws—the particular laws which it is his business to elude. Philopatris will excuse us for differing from him

upon a ſubject where he ſeems to entertain ſuch ſtrong opinions. We have a real reſpect for all his opinions:—no man could form them who had not a good heart, and a ſound underſtanding. If we have been ſevere upon his ſtyle of writing, it is becauſe we know his weight in the commonwealth: and we wiſh that the many young perſons who juſtly admire and imitate him, ſhould be turned to the difficult taſk of imitating his many excellences, rather than the uſeleſs and eaſy one of copying his few defects.

ART. VI. *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new Tranſlation of his Utopia, his Hiſtory of King Richard III., and his Latin Poems.* By Arthur Cayley the Younger, Eſq. 2 vol. 4to. London. Cadell & Davies, 1808.

'*A moſt pleaſant, fruitful, and witty Work of the beſt State of a Public Weal, and of the New Iſle called Utopia: written in Latin by the right worthy and famous Sir T. More, Knight, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Raphe Robinſon, A. D.* 1551.' *A New Edition, with copious Notes (including the whole of Dr Warner's), and a Biographical and Literary Introduction.* By the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, F. S. A. &c. 2 vol. 8vo. London. Miller, 1808.

THOUGH the unparalleled intereſt of the preſent criſis ſinks all paſt hiſtory into comparative inſignificance, yet, if there be any former period which may claim a ſhare of our preſent attention, it is that which includes the life of Sir Thomas More, and the reigns of Henry the Seventh and his ſon. There is found, in this period, a greater number of ſtriking characters and important events, than were ever brought together in the ſame ſpace of time. The human mind, beginning by a ſort of internal agitation to awake from the torpor of ages, received, at that period, an impulſe from without, which has carried it forward ever ſince in the career of improvement. Recent occurrences, indeed, by ſuſpending the ſocial relations of Europe, may ſeem to have retarded this movement; but they have not broken the ſprings; and when certain diſturbing influences ceaſe to act, it will be reſumed, we truſt, with increaſed force and velocity. The biography of ſuch a period ought to be particularly intereſting. A revolution of opinions had been ſecretly, but rapidly preparing the way for a revolution of events; and (if we may be allowed to uſe a chemical analogy) the reaction of the various principles, old and new, upon each other, produced many ſingular compounds of character, the ſtudy of which may furniſh a key to events in the hiſtory of theſe times, which would otherwiſe paſs for unaccountable.

able. The moſt active ingredients were good ſenſe and prejudice—the ſame, no doubt, that have gone to the compoſition of almoſt every character in every age; but they were united, in the diſtinguiſhed minds of thoſe days, in combinations more extraordinary, perhaps, than were ever witneſſed, either before or ſince. In the firſt growth of ſcience and philoſophy, their progreſs was gradual; and barbariſm ſlowly retreated, as they advanced. But it is ſo much eaſier to revive forgotten diſcoveries than to invent them anew, that, at the commencement of the 16th century, the reappearance of learning was comparatively inſtantaneous; and the light of philoſophy broke in, as it were, before the darkneſs of exiſting ignorance had time to diſperſe. Hence the contradictions which mark the whole of that important period—principles of political freedom combining with thoſe of eccleſiaſtical ſervitude—an enlightened and admirable reformation of religion, carried into effect by the aid of perſecution—and every poſſible abſurdity coexiſting with every excellence, not only in the ſame age, and under the ſame government, but often in the breaſt of the ſame individual. It is to this ſtruggle of contending opinions, and not to the character of any particular king, emperor, or even ſect, that we are to look for the cauſes of the religious inveteracy and bloodſhed which diſgraced the age of which we are ſpeaking. It was, with little exception, an age of *mutual* perſecution; and the mild Cranmer, himſelf, only expiated in the flames of martyrdom the kindred outrages he had committed on the oppoſite party.

It would be difficult to ſelect a ſtronger example of theſe inconſiſtencies, than that which is found in the character of Sir Thomas More. The impoſing ceremonies and doctrines of the Catholic faith had taken an early hold of his imagination and belief; and he cheriſhed, as he grew up, a profound veneration for that hierarchy, which had exiſted ſo long, and ſpread its roots ſo wide, that men ſubmitted to its oppreſſion and abſurdity, as if they had been parts of the order of nature. His youthful prepoſſeſſions were confirmed by his engaging in polemical diſputes, which he ſuffered too often to narrow the range of his fine underſtanding, and alter the ſuavity of his temper. On the other hand, he was ſmit with the novel charms of claſſical literature, of which, in his younger days, 'vix tenuis odor in Angliam demigrârat' (*Erasm. p.* 605.); and derived from thoſe liberal and humanizing purſuits, a refinement of taſte and ſentiment which form a ſtrong contraſt with the gloom and aſperity of the controverſialiſt.

These reflections were ſuggeſted by the very title of Mr Cayley's book; and after the many reams of anile anecdote through which we have lately been condemned to toil, we anticipated no

small pleasure from seeing biography once more ministering to history, and raised from the imbecility of *blue stocking* chit-chat, to the exercise of her more noble and legitimate occupations. An author, we conceived, who travels back to beaten ground, must feel confident of his ability to illustrate the subject, either by opening new sources of information, or by the charm of arrangement and style, and the importance of collateral disquisition. We are grieved to say, however, that we have encountered nothing but disappointment from a more intimate acquaintance with Mr Cayley. We were not indeed very sanguine in hoping for new materials or documents. The life of More has been frequently written already. Much information concerning him is to be found in the letters of Erasmus, and in the modern histories of that period; and Mr Cayley has added nothing new or recondite to the former stock. It is the life written by Roper, More's son-in-law, that he uses as his text-book; and his extracts from it, which are long and frequent, are the most amusing parts of his work. The quaint and minute details of a man, who was many years an inmate in More's house, could hardly fail to be interesting; and perhaps Mr Cayley would have judged wisely, if he had confined himself to the task of editing and illustrating the work of Roper, which is now a very scarce book. As it is, we conceive him to have failed completely in what was chiefly to be looked for—a luminous disposition of the various materials before him, so as to produce a pleasing and instructive narration. We have seldom seen a duller book on a more interesting subject. Much of its soporific virtue is owing to that want of unity and connexion which results from Mr Cayley's having loosely put together extracts from different authors, while no judgment presides over the arrangement—no '*Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.*'

The original composition of these volumes, lumbering and prolix as the style is, would occupy a very small space. The better half of the Memoirs, both as to quantity and quality, is marked with inverted commas; and even in that which professes to be original, the odds are always in favour of any given passage, being an extract from Roper, Burnet, or Jortin. His modes of acknowledging these obligations and of easing his conscience without betraying his secret, are ingenious enough. His general plan is, to transcribe what he wants, with the alteration of a word or two for the worse, that the offence may not be actionable; and then, by way of appeasing the *manes* of his predecessors, a simple reference is given to the word *Jortin* or *Burnet* on the margin; while the reader is left to believe, that these authorities have been consulted merely—and not, as the fact is, literally copied. Sometimes he takes the author to be plundered into the body of his text, and there robs him,

him, as it were, in broad daylight, by quoting his name for a fact in the beginning of a sentence, and strutting in his borrowed plumage through the rest. Thus (I. 263.) 'Our own correct and classical Jortin pronounces the poem on a lady, of whom More had been enamoured in his youth, the most pathetic and elegant in the collection. The reason is obvious,—his hand was secretary to his heart.' For the last observation, (though the property is certainly not worth contending for), the reader naturally gives Mr Cayley credit, till he finds it is taken *verbatim* from Jortin's life of Erasmus. Sometimes he grows bolder in iniquity, and copies extracts into his unhooked paragraphs, without any acknowledgement whatever. 'It is certainly disagreeable to be placed in the situation of Gil Blas, and connected with one who will take it in dudgeon if you do not smoke him with as much incense as would satisfy three, or thrice three goddesses.' We were preparing our critical lash to chastise this sally of bad taste, when we had the mortification to find the very passage in Jortin, and could not but wonder that it had charms to captivate even Mr Cayley's love of appropriation. These are some of our author's methods of furnishing a volume at a small expense of intellect. Another is the insertion of the whole of More's youthful rhimes (it were profanation to call them poetry), which 'flow in a slender streamlet, through a meadow of margin.' Of the margin we can give no idea in our confined and crowded pages; but the following is a fair specimen of the rhimes.

'Wise men alway
Affirm and say
That best 'tis for a man
Diligently
For to apply
The business that he can.'

We should exhaust the reader's patience, were we to detail the whole body of evidence which has gone to convince us, that Mr Cayley's object, in penning these Memoirs, was neither to vindicate his hero's fame, nor to accommodate, enlighten, or amuse the public—nor, even what is a more common motive than either, to put money in his pocket—but simply to *make a book*. Accordingly, having manufactured one goodly quarto out of materials which a man of less bibliographic powers would have foolishly compressed into a fourth part of the size;—having, moreover, by dint of republication and retranslation, contrived to fill up a second,—we conceive him to have fairly earned the appellation of *book-maker*, to which he seems to have aspired.

Of Mr Dibdin and his work we have very little to say. We never read the perpetually recurring notices of new books from

this indefatigable author, without being reminded of a passage in Herodotus, the scope of which is to prove, that Nature has uniformly made the weak and defenceless animals the most prolific. —Ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴν τε δειλὰ ἔχ ἐώδιμα *, ἰκυῖλα μὲν πάντα πολυγόνα πεποίηκεν (το θῖον). The lioness, he proceeds to observe, a noble and vigorous animal, produces one cub only in the course of her life —ἅπαξ ἐν τῳ βιῳ ἰκυῖλει ἐν—but the weak and timid hare, not only brings forth more than one at a birth, but *alone*, of all animals, (Herodotus did not know the race of modern book-makers) conceives during gestation. Επικῦισκῖλαι γὰρ μοῦνον παῦλων των θηρίων. ἔχ το μὲν δασυ των τεκνων ἐν τῃ γαστρι, το δὲ ψιλον, το δὲ, αῤῥι ἐν τῃ μῆτρῃ τιλασσῖλαι, το δὲ, αναιρῖσῖλαι. *Herod.* lib. iii. § 108.

The present work, which we judge to be in the ψιλον state, consists principally of a translation of the Utopia, executed by one Raphe Robinson, 'citizen and goldsmith' (we quote the words of his title-page) 'in London, at the procurement and earnest request of George Zadlowe, citizen and haberdasher in the same city.' This translation is here republished,—not because it is the best, but because it is the oldest and scarcest; Mr Dibdin having adopted for his motto, in common with most collectors, the converse of the familiar apophthegm—*omnia præclara esse rara*. It is full of obsolete words, uncouth phrases, and bad grammar. These, no doubt, are in themselves great recommendations. But what endears it most of all to Mr Dibdin is, the being printed in *black letter*. This delights him so much, that he cannot refrain from giving us a *fac-simile* of the first page, as far as the degenerate types of the present day can imitate such venerable deformity. (p. clxxii. 1.) Some further assistance is still deemed necessary, that we may accurately picture to our mind's eye the external appearance of this precious relic; for alas! there seem to be but two copies in existence, (p. clxiii. 1.); and how few can aspire to the felicity of seeing them! We are told, therefore, that 'it is neatly printed with a handsome margin.' It has signatures and catchwords; but—'the pages are not numbered'! Mr Dibdin, we will venture to affirm, has counted them, and is now in possession of the secret; but, with inexcuseable negligence, or parsimony, omits to fill up this desideratum in literature; and unless his book come to a second edition (which we dare not even hope for), we, at least, must for ever remain ignorant of the exact amount of Raphe Robinson's labours. An approximation may indeed be expected, from the *datum* which immediately follows: 'It ends on the leaf following

* This word evidently means, in its prophetic sense,—*food for reviewers*.

ing S iij;' and we recommend to our mathematical readers to combine this element with the fact of its being an octavo, and so form an equation which may come near to the solution of this interesting problem.

We are utterly blind to the necessity of either reediting an *old*, or publishing a *new* translation of the Utopia. A few extracts from Robinson's, such as Mr Burnett has lately given, may be curious, by way of illustrating the history of our language; but no man will go through it, who can either read the original, or the excellent version of Bishop Burnet. Mr Cayley's apology for his *new* translation, is a very lame one. The circumstance of Utopia being more known and admired abroad than at home, 'may justify' says he 'its reappearance in an English dress of the present day.' Does he mean to say, that Burnet's language is obsolete? There would be no great difficulty in proving, that it is much more pure, popular, and intelligible, than his own. We should be sorry indeed to think, that the fashion of good English so quickly passeth away, that the lapse of little more than a century sufficed to make us cast off our noblest authors, as we do an old coat. The truth is, Mr Cayley is shy of alluding to the Bishop's translation, from a consciousness of the use he has made of it in his own. One has only to compare them together for a moment, to see that our translator has worked much more upon Burnet than on his original; and, by some slight curtailings and transpositions, has afforded another strong proof of his inextinguishable love of appropriation.

It would be a most unprofitable task to follow Mr Dibdin through the mass of introductory matter, annotations, and 'supplemental notes,' in which he enchases his jewel of antiquity. They consist almost entirely of a register of editions, first of books that relate in any way to the life of Sir T. More; secondly, a list of his works, with their editions; and, thirdly, of the Utopia, whether in Latin, Italian, French, or English; with learned dissertations concerning the particular month of the particular year in which the respective editions were published;—forming altogether a handsome assortment of title-pages. They are the spoils he has brought home from the charnel-house of literature,—where he has faithfully copied the birth, parentage, and title of many a book long since departed, or preserved only 'in cold obstruction' in the cabinets of the curious. We are favoured too with a minute account of all the 'engraved portraits of Sir Thomas,' whether 'in *stroke, stipling, etching, or mezzotint*,' preceded by this eloquent appeal to the feelings of the public—

'Never, perhaps, has it fallen to the lot of a human being to have his features so tortured and perverted as More's have been. At one time,

time, he is made to resemble a Turk; at another time, an officer of the Inquisition. One artist decorates him with the robes of Soliman the Great; another takes care to put around him those of a mountebank or a conjurer: shaven or unshaven—with a short or a long beard—we are still told it is Sir Thomas More! In physiognomical expression, he is as often made to represent the drivelling idiot, as the consequential Lord Mayor; and the immortal name of Holbein is subscribed to portraits, of which he not only never dreamt, but of which almost the meanest of his successors, in this country, might have been justly ashamed.' p. cxv. I.

Though we have avoided following, step by step, this loose and clumsy narrative of Mr Cayley, we cannot dismiss his book without reverting to the subject of it; and bringing under review one of the most interesting, if not the most prominent characters in English story. There is no occasion for dwelling on the events of More's *political* life. Every one knows that, after being Speaker of the House of Commons, and Lord Chancellor, he fell a sacrifice to the savage caprice of a tyrant, whose favour had dragged him reluctantly from the retirement he loved. The equanimity with which he met his fate, and the placidity, and even facetiousness, which he displayed on the scaffold, are equally notorious. The detail of these events, and their connexion with the more important ones on which they depended, we leave to the historian, and shall content ourselves with viewing More in his *literary*, *domestic*, and *religious* character.

1. More is justly regarded as one of the great promoters of classical learning in this island. His intimate acquaintance with Erasmus, and other Continental scholars, both led him to cultivate his own taste, and made him eager to improve that of his countrymen. How much his exertions were wanted, and how low the state of literature was at that period, appears from the well-known fact, that the University of Oxford was divided between the contending parties of Greek and Trojan; the one urging, the other vehemently opposing, the introduction of Greek as a part of academical study. More took a very active part against the Trojans; and thus paved the way for that profound and accurate acquaintance with this noble language which still so honourably distinguishes English scholars. He condescended even to smooth the first entrance into learning, by assisting the grammatical labours of his friend Lilly. His own productions are voluminous enough. Raſtell's folio edition of his Engliſh works, 'conſiſts' as Mr Dibdin takes care to inform us 'of 1458 double columned and cloſely printed black-letter pages.' But, with the exception of the Life of Picus of Mirandula, a youthful production, and the Hiſtory of Richard III., the genuine-

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neſs of which is ſomewhat doubtful, this enormous volume contains ſcarcely any thing but the acrimonious invective of religious controverſy, or the devotional drivelling of ſuperſtition. Of his Latin works, which are in much ſmaller compaſs, by far the beſt is the Utopia. Upon it, indeed, reſts all More's fame as an author. This production, ſo much more talked of than read, is compriſed in two books; the firſt of which, though ſhort and merely introductory, is the beſt written, and moſt intereſting. It conſiſts of a converſation between More and Hythlodæus, the ſtranger who is juſt returned from Utopia; in the courſe of which, he introduces many remarks on the political inſtitutions he had ſeen in his travels, particularly in England. Theſe remarks are equally valuable for their freedom and acuteneſs, conſidering the period at which they were written. Princes are arraigned for their love of war—courtiers for their ſervility and hatred of innovation—and the whole body of the nobles for their idleneſs and profligacy. He points out, very clearly, the abſurdity of many of our cuſtoms and laws, and inveighs bitterly againſt the ſanguinary ſpirit of our penal code in the puniſhment of robbery and theft; a code which, at the diſtance of three hundred years, remains unaltered—and is only now about to be attacked in one of its outworks.

In the ſecond book, More, in the perſon of Hythlodæus, proceeds to rear the ideal fabric of a perfectly happy nation—a favourite employment of ſpeculative politicians ever ſince the days of Plato. By quitting the guidance of reaſon and experience, there is no folly of which they have not been guilty in theſe creations of fancy. The reader will find curious examples of this in the fifth book of Plato's Republic,—the prototype, and, we may add, the opprobrium of all philoſophical commonwealths. Women are there trained to the ſame gymnaſtic exerciſes with the men, and ſhare with them the toils and dangers of war. Marriages are made by the magiſtrate alone; and the parties ſelected by him ſolely upon the principles that regulate our breeders of cattle. Women are allowed to give children to the ſtate only from the age of twenty to forty, and men from thirty to fifty-five. After this, a promiſcuous intercourſe is ſanctioned; and it is recommended to the women, that no children be born: if they be, they are expoſed. More has adopted none of theſe horrible propoſitions; but, borrowing one idea from the Greek philoſopher, has laid down a community of goods, as the fundamental principle of his commonwealth. The Utopian goes to the depôt of every article of life, and helps himſelf in what proportion he pleaſes, without leaving any equivalent. The bare mention of this is ſufficient to exempt us from going into any detail of the inſtitutions of a ſociety erected upon ſuch a baſis. Both Plato and

and More had some obscure notion of the tendency of population to overstep the limits of subsistence, and propose means of obviating it,—the former by abortions and infanticide, and the latter by emigration: but they were evidently far from being aware of the full extent of the principle. It is not a little surprising, that men of penetration should have agreed, at such a distance of time, in adopting a plan, the execution of which would not only destroy the most useful principles of our nature, but speedily produce unavoidable misery. But, from the general surprise which such a proposition would now produce, we may infer that the science of political economy, after remaining stationary from the days of Plato to those of Sir Thomas More, has at least made some advances since the publication of the Utopia. But, with all its defects, that work will always be a favourite with the scholar, and even with the statesman. To the former, its pure and elegant Latinity, and its happy imitation of the philosophical dialogues of antiquity, will recommend it; while the latter will value it as a record of the sentiments of a great and good man on some of the most important branches of general as well as municipal politics.

2. By far the most engaging view of More's character, is in the relations of private life. It is seldom we are enabled to contemplate statesmen with their minds unbent from exertion; and the admiration which their public exhibitions had raised, is not always increased by a closer inspection. But, of More's *domestic* life, we have ample details; and it is the contrast of his great elevation and profound knowledge, with his tenderness of affection, and his playfulness, simplicity, and unaffected serenity of temper, which forms the true sublime of his character. In him, there is no disguise of artificial representation, no *management* of conduct to produce effect; every act flows, without effort, from the even tenor of a mind well poised on itself, which nothing external can either elevate or depress. We do not follow him from the Speaker's chair or the Woolsack, to see him put off the robes of greatness, and resume the man; but we go with him from the bosom of his family, to see him retain, in those dignified seats, all the childlike simplicity and unaffected lowliness of his nature. So strongly are we impressed with this idea of More, that, even the following anecdote related by Roper, which, in any other man, or at a later period, would strike us as a puerile affectation, appears in him nothing but the spontaneous expression of filial piety.

'His father, Sir John More, now nearly ninety years old, was still a Judge of the King's Bench, when More became Chancellor. Whenever he passed through Westminster Hall to his place in the Chancery, if his father had seated himself ere he came, he would go into the Court of King's Bench, and there reverently kneeling down in the sight of them all, duly ask his father's blessing.'

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He was twice married. His firſt wife lived only long enough to produce him all the family he ever had—three daughters and a ſon; and he ſeems to have been directed, in his ſecond choice, by a wiſh to provide for them a faithful and economical ſtepmother. She was, as More himſelf ſays, *nec bella, nec puella;* and the badneſs of her temper often tried, without altering, the ſweetneſs of her huſband's. The following letter to her, is ſo illuſtrative of his equanimity and mild benevolence, and ſo good a ſpecimen of his Engliſh ſtyle, that we give it to the reader without abridgement. It was written immediately after his return from aſſiſting at the negotiations at Cambray; and was meant to comfort his penurious wife for a fire which had conſumed part of his houſe, all his barns, and ſome of thoſe of his neighbours.

'Mistress Alice, in my most heartywise I recommend me to you. And whereas I am informed by my son Heron of the loss of our barns and our neighbours' also, with all the corn that was therein; albeit (saving God's pleasure) it is great pity of so much good corn lost; yet, since it has liked him to send us such a chance, we must, and are bounden, not only to be content, but also to be glad of his visitation. He sent us all that we have lost; and since he hath, by such a chance, taken it away again, his pleasure be fulfilled! Let us never grudge thereat, but take it in good worth, and heartily thank him, as well for adversity as for prosperity. And peradventure we have more cause to thank him for our loss, than for our winning; for his wisdom better seeth what is good for us, than we do ourselves. Therefore, I pray you be of good cheer, and take all the household with you to church, and there thank God, both for that he has given us, and for that he has taken from us, and for that he hath left us; which, if it please him, he can increase when he will; and, if it please him to leave us yet less, at his pleasure be it!

'I pray you to make some good onsearch what my poor neighbours have lost, and bid them take no thought therefore; for, if I should not leave myself a spoon, there shall no poor neighbour of mine bear no loss by my chance, happened in my house. I pray you be, with my children and your household, merry in God: and devise somewhat with your friends what way were best to take, for provision to be made for corn for our household, and for seed this year coming, if we think it good that we keep the ground still in our hands. And whether we think it good that we so shall do or not, yet I think it were not best suddenly thus to leave it all up, and to put away our folk from our farm, till we have somewhat advised us thereon. Howbeit, if we have more now than ye shall need, and which can get them other masters, ye may then discharge us of them. But I would not that any man were suddenly sent away, he wot not whither.

'At my coming hither, I perceived none other, but that I should tarry still with the king's grace. But now, I shall, I think, because of

of this chance, get leave this next week to come home and see you; and then shall we farther devise together upon all things, what order shall be best to take.

'And thus, as heartily fare you well, with all our children, as ye can wish! At Woodstock, the third day of September, by the hand of Thomas More.'

To the education of his children he devoted himself with no less ardour than success. They were all brought up, his daughters as well as his son, in the wholesome and invigorating discipline of classical learning; and we should not be sorry to find that the example and authority of so great a man had power to extend the practice at present.

'As I prefer learning, united with virtue, to all the treasures of princes, (says he in a letter to the tutor of his children), so I look upon the reputation of learning, when separated from good morals, as merely infamy rendered conspicuous. This applies peculiarly to the female sex. Their proficiency in literature being something new, and a certain reproach to the slugglishness of men, most men will be ready to attack them, and to expend their natural malice upon their learning. Nay, they will call their own ignorance a virtue, when compared with the faults of those learned. But, on the other hand, if a woman (which I wish may be the case with all my girls, and in which I have the greatest confidence under your auspices) to great excellence of character, unite even a moderate portion of learning, I deem her possessed of more real good, than if she had the wealth of Crœsus, and the beauty of Helen. And this not for the sake of fame, although she pursueth worth as doth the shadow the body; but because the reward of wisdom is more substantial than to be borne away on the wings of riches, or to fade with beauty.'

In the same letter are the following hints on the moral education of his daughters.

'I have not only requested *you*, my dear Gonellus, whose strong love to all mine would have led you, I know, to have done so of your own accord, not only my wife, to whom her true maternal piety is a sufficient impulse, as I have often witnessed, but I have frequently besought almost all my friends also, that they might afterwards admonish my children, that, avoiding the precipices of pride, they walk on the pleasant meads of modesty; that the sight of riches overcome them not; that they sigh not for the want of that in themselves which is erroneously admired by others; that they think no better of themselves for being well dressed, nor worse for being otherwise; that they spoil not the beauty which nature gave them, by neglect, nor endeavour to increase it by vile arts; that they esteem virtue the first, letters the second good; and that of these they esteem those the best, which can best teach them piety to God.

God, charity to man, modesty and christian humility in their own deportment.'

They corresponded to this paternal solicitude as well as a father could wish. His daughter Margaret, in particular, who married Roper his biographer, attained such excellence in every branch of elegant and useful learning, as to be always mentioned among those whose mental accomplishments have done honour to the sex. More often expresses his satisfaction with 'the invincible courage' she displayed in 'joining to her virtue the knowledge of most excellent sciences;' and the pleasure he felt in the progress of all his children, is conveyed with great *naïveté* in the following letter 'to his whole school.'

'You see what a device I have found to save paper, and avoid the labour of writing all your names. But although you are so dear to me, that if I had named one, I must have named all the rest; yet there is no appellation under which you appear dearer to me than that of scholar: the tie of learning seems almost to bind me to you more powerfully than even the tie of nature. I am glad therefore that Mr Drue is again safely returned to you, as you know I had some reason to be anxious about him. If I did not love you so much, I should envy you the happiness of possessing so many and such excellent masters. I understand Mr Nicholas is also with you, and that you are with his assistance making such prodigious progress in astronomy, as not only to know the Pole-star, and the Dog and such common constellations, but, even with a skill which bespeaks truly accomplished astronomers, to be able to disguish the Sun from the Moon. Go on, then, with this new and wonderful science, by which you ascend to the stars. And while you diligently consider them with your eyes, let this holy season raise your minds also to heaven, lest, while your eyes are lifted up to the skies, your souls should grovel among the brutes. Adieu, my dearest children.'

Erasmus (*Ep. ad Episc. Vienn.*) draws a very pleasing picture of More's domestic circle in his house at Chelsea, where, in the latter part of his life, he had assembled most of his relations, and lived like a patriarch in the midst of them. The directing power of his superior understanding diffused through the whole establishment the charm of constant occupation, while the matchless felicity of his temper promoted the gaiety of youth and the cheerfulness of social intercourse.

'I would call this house' says Erasmus 'the Academy of Plato, were it not injustice to compare it to a place, where the usual disputations concerning figures and numbers were only occasionally interspersed with disquisitions about the moral virtues. A house in which every one studies the liberal sciences, where the principal care is virtue and piety, where idleness never appears, where intemperate language is never heard, where regularity and order are prescribed

scribed by the mere force of kindness and courtesy, where every one performs his duty, and yet all are so cheerful as if mirth were their only employment. Such a house ought rather to be called a practical school of the Christian religion.'

3. More's principles of *religious* conduct and belief, are not only discordant with every other part of his character, but often inconsistent with each other, and that to a degree which we can only account for, by regarding some of them as the dictates of his own manly and uncorrupted judgment, and others as the effects of early prepossession, and of that zeal against innovation, which is so apt to blind the soundest understandings. In the Utopia which he wrote in the full vigour of his faculties, Utopus, the legislator of his favourite republic, makes a law, that every man shall be of what religion he pleases, not only to preserve the public peace, which had suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcileable sects, but because he thought the interests of religion itself required it.

'He judged it wrong,' continues More, 'to lay down any thing rashly; and seemed to doubt, whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with the variety. He therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another, to make him believe what did not strike him as true. And supposing even only one religion to be true, and the rest false, he imagined that the innate force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the strength of reasoning, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind: while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumult, since the most wicked are ever the most obstinate, the best and most holy religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns.' *Utop. ad fin.*

It is humiliating to reflect, that a man, who in that barbarous age could express sentiments so liberal, which even in these enlightened times are far from being generally understood, and still farther from being generally acted upon, should yet have been disgraced by a degree of superstition and bigotry scarcely exceeded by the strictest order of monks.

'He began very early to mortify himself by various penances, and, in particular, to wear a hair-shirt next his skin,—a custom which he never wholly laid aside even in his highest elevation. Every Friday, and also on high feasting-days, he subjected himself to the discipline of a hard knotted cord, sleeping on a bench, or on the bare ground, with a log for his pillow, and allowing himself only four or five hours of repose.' *Roper, p. 3.*

He ranged himself on the side of the champions of Popery, when they began to be assailed by the very weapons he had helped to introduce; and supported all their absurdities, not only by his writings,

writings, but with the whole weight, and, we fear, vengeance of a Chancellor's authority. In his writings, the *odium theologicum* so far overpowered the meekness of his natural temper, that few of the religious disputants of his time surpassed him in virulence of abuse; and he left them all behind him, as was remarked in his own day, in the talent of 'calling bad names in good Latin.' In the exercise of his Chancellor's authority, which then gave the power of arbitrary punishment, he is accused of having not merely connived at, but actively promoted persecution. It was even alleged, that he frequently had heretics arrested, and privately flogged. In a letter written in his own justification, he pleads guilty to having imprisoned them, but denies having used personal correction, except in two cases of very trifling importance. Yet, when we conſider that in that very letter he pronounces heretics much 'worſe than thieves, murderers, and robbers of churches,' we cannot be ſurpriſed that the accuſation was made. In a Latin epitaph which he compoſed on himſelf, he claſſes heretics in the ſame company; and enumerates, among the good points of his own character, that he had been 'furibus, homicidis, *hæreticisque* moleſtus.'* He defends the expreſſion afterwards in a letter to Eraſmus, in which he openly avows his hatred of that race of men. (*Jortin's Life of Erasm.* ii. 176.)

There is no ſight more affecting than the ruins of a great mind in a ſtate of derangement or fatuity; and it is with a ſenſation ſomewhat akin to this, that we ſee More a dupe to the low impoſture of the Maid of Kent. This depraved and contemptible woman ſeems at firſt to have been a tool in the hands of ſome Catholic prieſts, to prop their tottering cauſe; and, by counterfeiting viſions and raptures at their ſuggeſtion, probably came at laſt to believe that ſhe really had communications with Heaven. It is certain, at leaſt, that ſhe ſucceeded in perſuading More of the fact. He paid her a viſit, not, as he ſays himſelf, out of a very curious mind; but that, having ſeen and become acquainted with her, 'ſhe might have ſomewhat the more occaſion to remember me in her devotion and prayers.'

'In the courſe of their converſation during this viſit, the Holy Maid told him, that 'of late, the devil, in the likeneſs of a bird,' (we use the words of his own letter) 'had been flying and flutter-

* Mr M'Diarmid (*Lives of Brit. Stat., App.* 17.) informs us, that a blank is left on the marble for the word *hæreticisque*; and says, it is only conjectured that it is meant to be thus filled up. But we have before us a small collection of Erasmus's tracts and letters, printed at Antwerp in 1534, before More's death, in which the epitaph is given as it was sent to Erasmus, with the word at full length.

ing about her in a chamber, and suffered himself to be taken: And being in hands, suddenly changed in their sight who were present, into such a strange ugly-fashioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a window.' *Cayl. Mem.* 151.

That this story of her's did not undeceive Sir Thomas, is evident from the circumstance, that he gave her a double ducat at parting, to secure her prayers; and afterwards wrote a letter to her, in which he calls her his 'right dearly beloved sister in our Lord God.' The purpose of the letter, was to caution her against repeating to every body the divine communications she might have respecting the King and his marriage. The opening is curious.

'After most hearty commendation, I shall beseech you to take my good mind in good worth, and pardon me that I am so homely, as, of myself, unrequired, and also without necessity, to give counsel to you; of whom, for the good inspirations and great revelations, which it liketh Almighty God of his goodness to give and shew, (as many wise, well learned, and very virtuous folk testify) I myself have need, for the comfort of my soul, to require and ask advice,' &c.

But, though he convicts himself of having, at one time, believed in her intercourse with Heaven, he proves clearly enough that he neither encouraged nor listened to her denunciations against Henry. Yet he was included in a bill of attainder passed against those concerned in this imposture; and it was with great reluctance, and only from the conviction that the bill would not pass in the Lords, that the King consented to erase his name. There is not a deeper stain on the character of that brutal and unaccountable monarch, than his determination to destroy a man, from whose sentiments or public conduct he could not possibly augur any harm to himself. He well knew the unobtrusive, retiring disposition of the man. He had formerly treated More on a footing of such intimacy, as to visit and dine with him at his Chelsea farm; and even used, as Roper informs us, to ascend with him to the house-top to observe the stars, and discourse of astronomy. In persecuting him there was no passion to gratify, no end to serve. Yet it was with a manifest view to entrap the delicate conscience of his former friend that he got a law passed, declaring it high treason to deny the King's supremacy, or the illegality of his marriage with Catharine. To both of these points More, mildly, but firmly, refused his assent. On what grounds he did so, it would be useless to inquire. One cannot, indeed, help sympathizing a little with the homely resentment and worldly wisdom of his wife, who is recorded to have addressed him in the following words, when she first saw him in the Tower.

'I marvel that you, Mr More, who have been hitherto always taken for a wise man, will now so play the fool, as to lye here in this

this close filthy prison, and be content to be shut up thus with mice and rats! when you might be abroad at your liberty, with the favour and good-will both of the King and the Council—if you would but do as all the bishops and best learned of his realm have done. And seeing you have, at Chelsea, a right fair house, your library, your books, your gallery, your garden, your orchard, and all other necessaries so handsome about you—where you might, in company with us, your wife, your children, and household, be merry, I muse, what a God's name you mean, here still, thus fondly, to tarry!' xvi. D.

But More had been accustomed to all the nice distinctions of casuistical divinity; and many things, of course, frivolous enough in themselves, assumed in his mind an importance that did not belong to them. He had not even made up his sentiments on the disputed points; which accounts for his declining to declare them openly, either in his examinations, on his trial, or in prison. But, when the mind's energy is excited by unjust persecution, resistance becomes a point of honour as well as of conscience; and contempt of death is cherished, not less by a hatred of oppression, than by a feeling of rectitude. Both motives, we believe, actuated More's conduct; though the whole tenor of his life, leaves no room to doubt that the latter was infinitely the more powerful. In all his expressions, indeed, with regard to Henry after his condemnation, there is, what in any man but him, we should call an excess of meekness, a kissing of the rod, a want almost of the dignity and independence of conscious integrity. This impression, however, is probably owing to the fervent indignation against the tyrant which rises in the breast of every reader of his story; but to which, as well as to every other turbulent emotion, More's nature and principles were equally averse. Never, certainly, was the mind of man less discomposed by the sentence of condemnation and the approach of death. They produced no shock of the system, no revulsion of feeling, no screwing up of the courage to meet a great occasion. 'His death,' as Addison observes, 'was of a piece with his life. There was nothing in it new, forced, or affected: nor did he look upon the severing of his head from his body, as a circumstance that ought to produce any change in the disposition of his mind.' *Spect.* No. 349.

ART. VII. *Tales of Fashionable Life.* By Miss Edgeworth, Author of 'Practical Education—Belinda—Castle Rackrent,' &c. 12mo. 3 vol. London, 1809.

IF it were possible for reviewers to *envy* the authors who are brought before them for judgment, we rather think we should

be tempted to envy Miss Edgeworth;—not, however, so much for her matchless powers of probable invention—her never-failing good sense and cheerfulness—nor her fine discrimination of characters—as for the delightful consciousness of having done more good than any other writer, male or female, of her generation. Other arts and sciences have their use, no doubt; and, Heaven knows, they have their reward and their fame. But the great art is the art of living; and the chief science the science of being happy. Where there is an absolute deficiency of good sense, these cannot indeed be taught; and, with an extraordinary share of it, they are acquired without an instructor: but the most common case is, to be capable of learning, and yet to require teaching; and a far greater part of the misery which exists in society, arises from ignorance, than either from vice or from incapacity.

Miss Edgeworth is the great modern mistress in this school of true philosophy; and has eclipsed, we think, the fame of all her predecessors. By her many excellent tracts on education, she has conferred a benefit on the whole mass of the population; and discharged, with exemplary patience as well as extraordinary judgment, a task which superficial spirits may perhaps mistake for an humble and easy one. By her Popular Tales, she has rendered an invaluable service to the middling and lower orders of the people; and by her Novels, and by the volumes before us, has made a great and meritorious effort to promote the happiness and respectability of the higher classes. On a former occasion we believe we hinted to her, that these would probably be the least successful of all her labours; and that it was doubtful whether she would be justified for bestowing so much of her time on the case of a few persons who scarcely deserved to be cured, and were scarcely capable of being corrected. The foolish and unhappy part of the fashionable world, for the most part, 'is not fit to bear itself convinced.' It is too vain, too busy, and too dissipated, to listen to, or remember any thing that is said to it. Every thing serious it repels, by 'its dear wit and gay rhetoric;' and against every thing poignant, it seeks shelter in the impenetrable armour of bold stupidity.

> 'Laugh'd at, it laughs again;—and, stricken hard,
> Turns to the stroke its adamantine scales,
> That fear no discipline of human hands.'

A book, on the other hand, and especially a witty and popular book, is still a thing of consequence to such of the middling classes of society as are in the habit of reading. They dispute about it, and think of it; and as they occasionally make themselves ridiculous by copying the manners it displays, so they are apt

apt to be impressed with the great lessons it may be calculated to teach; and, on the whole, receive it into considerable authority among the regulators of their lives and opinions. But a fashionable person has scarcely any leisure to read, and none to think of what he has been reading. It would be a derogation from his dignity to speak of a book in any terms but those of frivolous derision; and a strange desertion of his own superiority, to allow himself to receive, from its perusal, any impressions which could at all affect his conduct or opinions.

But though, for these reasons, we continue to think that Miss Edgeworth's fashionable patients will do less credit to her prescriptions than the more numerous classes to whom they might have been directed, we admit that her plan of treatment is in the highest degree judicious, and her conception of the disorder most luminous and precise.

There are two great sources of unhappiness to those whom fortune and nature seem to have placed above the reach of ordinary misery. The one is *ennui*—that stagnation of life and feeling which results from the absence of all motives to exertion; and by which the justice of Providence has so fully compensated the partiality of fortune, that it may be fairly doubted whether, upon the whole, the race of beggars is not happier than the race of lords; and whether those vulgar wants that are sometimes so importunate, are not, in this world, the chief ministers of enjoyment. This is a plague that infests all indolent persons who can live on in the rank in which they were born, without the necessity of working: but, in a free country, it rarely occurs in any great degree of virulence, except among those who are already at the summit of human felicity. Below this there is room for ambition, and envy, and emulation, and all the feverish movements of aspiring vanity and unresting selfishness, which act as prophylactics against this more dark and deadly distemper. It is the canker which corrodes the full-blown flower of human felicity,—the pestilence which smites at the bright hour of noon.

The other curse of the happy, has a range more wide and indiscriminate. It, too, tortures only the rich and fortunate; but is most active among the least distinguished; and abates in malignity as we ascend to the lofty regions of pure *ennui*. This is the desire of being fashionable;—the restless and insatiable passion to pass for creatures more distinguished than we really are,—with the mortification of frequent failure, and the humiliating consciousness of being perpetually exposed to it. Among those who are secure of 'meat, clothes and fire,' and are thus above the chief physical evils of existence, we do believe that this is a more prolific source of unhappiness, than guilt, disease, or affection; and that

more positive misery is created, and more true enjoyment excluded, by the eternal fretting and straining of this pitiful ambition, than by all the ravages of passion, the desolations of war, or the accidents of mortality. The wretchedness which it produces may not be so intense; but it is of much longer duration, and spreads over a far wider circle. It is quite dreadful, indeed, to think what a sweep this pest has taken among the comforts of our prosperous population. To be thought fashionable—that is, to be thought more opulent and tasteful, and on a footing of intimacy with a greater number of distinguished persons than they really are, is the great and laborious pursuit of four families out of five, the members of which are exempted from the necessity of daily industry. In this pursuit, their time, spirits and talents, are wasted; their tempers soured; their affections palsied; and their natural manners and dispositions altogether sophisticated and lost.

These are the giant curses of fashionable life; and Miss Edgeworth has accordingly dedicated her two best tales to the delineation of their symptoms. The history of 'Lord Glenthorn' is a fine picture of *ennui*,—that of 'Almeria' an instructive representation of the miseries of fashion. We do not know whether it was a part of the fair writer's design to represent these maladies as absolutely incurable, without a change of condition; but the fact is, that in spite of the best dispositions and capacities, and the most powerful inducements to action, the hero of *ennui* makes no advances towards amendment till he is deprived of his title and estate; and the victim of fashion is left, at the end of the tale, pursuing her weary career with fading hopes and wasted spirits, but with increased anxiety and perseverance. The moral use of these narratives, therefore, must consist in warning us against the first approaches of evils which can never afterwards be resisted.

These are the great twin scourges of the prosperous; but there are other maladies, of no despicable malignity, to which they are peculiarly liable. One of these, arising mainly from want of more worthy occupation, is that perpetual use of stratagem and contrivance—that little, artful diplomacy of private life, by which the simplest and most natural transactions are rendered complicated and difficult, and the common business of existence made to depend on the success of plots and counterplots. By the incessant practice of this petty policy, a habit of duplicity and anxiety is infallibly generated, which is equally fatal to integrity and enjoyment. We gradually come to look on others with the distrust which we are conscious of deserving; and are insensibly formed to sentiments of the most unamiable selfishness and suspicion. It is needless to say, that all these elaborate artifices are worse than useless to the person

perſon who employs them; and that the ingenious plotter is almoſt always baffled and expoſed by the downright honeſty of ſome undeſigning competitor. Miſs Edgeworth, in her tale of 'Manœuvring,' has given a very complete and moſt entertaining repreſentation of 'the by-ways and indirect crooked paths' by which theſe artful and inefficient people generally make their way to diſappointment. In the tale, entitled 'Madame de Fleury,' ſhe has given ſome uſeful examples of the ways in which the rich may moſt effectually do good to the poor,—an operation which, we really believe, fails more frequently from want of ſkill than of inclination. In 'the Dun,' ſhe has drawn a touching and moſt impreſſive picture of the wretchedneſs which the poor ſo frequently ſuffer from the unfeeling thoughtleſsneſs which withholds from them the ſcanty earnings of their labour.

Of theſe tales, 'Ennui' perhaps is the beſt and moſt entertaining,—though the leading character is ſomewhat caricatured, and the denouement is brought about by a diſcovery which ſhocks by its needleſs improbability. Lord Glenthorn is bred up, by a falſe and indulgent guardian, as the heir to an immenſe Engliſh and Iriſh eſtate; and, long before he is of age, exhauſts almoſt all the reſources by which life can be made tolerable to thoſe who have nothing to wiſh for. Born on the very pinnacle of human fortune, 'he had nothing to do but to ſit ſtill and enjoy the barrenneſs of the proſpect.' He tries travelling, gaming, gluttony, hunting, pugiliſm, and coach-driving; but is ſo preſſed down with the load of life, as to be repeatedly on the eve of ſuicide. He paſſes over to Ireland, where he receives a temporary relief from the rebellion, and from falling in love with a lady of high character and accompliſhments; but the effect of theſe ſtimulants is ſpeedily expended, and he is in danger of falling into a confirmed lethargy, when it is fortunately diſcovered that he has been changed at nurſe; and that, inſtead of being a peer of boundleſs fortune, he is the ſon of a cottager who lives on potatoes. With great magnanimity, he inſtantly gives up the fortune to the rightful owner, who has been bred a blackſmith, and takes to the ſtudy of the law. At the commencement of this arduous career, he fortunately falls in love, for the ſecond time, with the lady entitled, after the death of the blackſmith, to ſucceed to his former eſtate. Poverty and love now ſupply him with irreſiſtible motives for exertion. He riſes in his profeſſion; marries the lady of his heart; and in due time returns, an altered man, to the poſſeſſion of his former affluence.

Such is the naked outline of a ſtory, more rich in character, incident and reflection, than any Engliſh narrative with which we are acquainted:—as rapid and various as the beſt tales of Voltaire,

and as full of practical good sense and moral pathetic as any of the other tales of Miss Edgeworth. The Irish characters are inimitable;—not the coarse caricatures of modern playwrights—but drawn with a spirit, a delicacy, and a precision, to which we do not know if there be any parallel among national delineations. As these are tales of fashionable life, we shall present our readers, in the first place, with some traits of an Irish lady of rank. Lady Geraldine—the enchantress whose powerful magic almost raised the hero of ennui from his leaden slumbers, is represented with such exquisite liveliness and completeness of effect, that the reader can scarcely help imagining that he has formerly been acquainted with the original. Every one at least, we conceive, must have known somebody, the recollection of whom must convince him that the following description is as true to nature as it is creditable to art.

'As Lady Geraldine entered, I gave one involuntary glance of curiosity. I saw a tall, finely shaped woman, with the commanding air of a person of rank: she moved well; not with feminine timidity, yet with ease, promptitude, and decision. She had fine eyes and a fine complexion, yet no regularity of feature. The only thing that struck me as really extraordinary, was her indifference when I was introduced to her. Every body had seemed extremely desirous that I should see her ladyship, and that her ladyship should see me; and I was rather surprised by her unconcerned air. This piqued me, and fixed my attention. She turned from me, and began to converse with others. Her voice was agreeable, though rather loud: she did not speak with the Irish accent; but, when I listened maliciously, I detected certain Hibernian inflexions—nothing of the vulgar Irish idiom, but something that was more interrogative, more exclamatory, and perhaps more rhetorical, than the common language of English ladies, accompanied with infinitely more animation of countenance and demonstrative gesture. This appeared to me peculiar and unusual, but not affected. She was uncommonly eloquent; and yet, without action, her words were not sufficiently rapid to express her ideas. Her manner appeared foreign, yet it was not quite French. If I had been obliged to decide, I should, however, have pronounced it rather more French than English. To determine which it was, or whether I had ever seen any thing similar, I stood considering her ladyship with more attention, than I had ever bestowed on any other woman. The words *striking—fascinating—bewitching*, occurred to me as I looked at her and heard her speak. I resolved to turn my eyes away, and shut my ears; for I was positively determined not to like her; I dreaded so much the idea of a second Hymen. I retreated to the farthest window, and looked out very soberly upon a dirty fish-pond.

'If she had treated me with tolerable civility at first, I never should have thought about her. High-born and high-bred, she seemed

seemed to consider more what she thought of others, than what others thought of her. Frank, candid, and affable, yet opinionated, insolent, and an egotist: her candour and affability appeared the effect of a naturally good temper; her insolence and egotism only those of a spoiled child. She seemed to talk of herself purely to oblige others, as the most interesting possible topic of conversation; for such it had always been to her fond mother, who idolized her ladyship as an only daughter, and the representative of an ancient house. Confident of her talents, conscious of her charms, and secure of her station, Lady Geraldine gave free scope to her high spirits, her fancy, and her turn for ridicule. She looked, spoke, and acted, like a person privileged to think, say, and do, what she pleased. Her raillery, like the raillery of princes, was without fear of retort. She was not ill-natured, yet careless to whom she gave offence, provided she produced amusement; and in this she seldom failed; for, in her conversation, there was much of the raciness of Irish wit, and the oddity of Irish humour. The singularity that struck me most about her ladyship, was her indifference to flattery. She certainly preferred frolic. Miss Bland was her humble companion; Miss Tracey her *butt*. It was one of Lady Geraldine's delights, to humour Miss Tracey's rage for imitating the fashions of fine people. "Now you shall see Miss Tracey appear at the ball to-morrow, in every thing that I have sworn to her is fashionable. Nor have I cheated her in a single article: but the *tout ensemble* I leave to her better judgment; and you shall see her, I trust, a perfect monster, formed of every creature's best: Lady Kilrush's feathers, Mrs Moore's wig, Mrs O'Connor's gown, Mrs Lighton's sleeves, and all the necklaces of all the Miss Ormsbys. She has no taste, no judgment; none at all, poor thing; but she can imitate as well as those Chinese painters, who, in their drawings, give you the flower of one plant stuck on the stalk of another, and garnished with the leaves of a third." I. 130—139.

This favourite character is afterwards exhibited in a great variety of dramatic contrasts. For example,

'Lord Craiglethorpe was, as Miss Tracey had described him, very stiff, cold, and *high*. His manners were in the extreme of English reserve; and his ill-bred show of contempt for the Irish was sufficient provocation and justification of Lady Geraldine's ridicule. He was much in awe of his fair and witty cousin: she could easily put him out of countenance, for he was extremely bashful. His Lordship had that sort of bashfulness, which makes a man surly and obstinate in his taciturnity; which makes him turn upon all who approach him, as if they were going to assault him; which makes him answer a question as if it were an injury, and repel a compliment as if it were an insult. Once, when he was out of the room, Lady Geraldine exclaimed, "That cousin Craiglethorpe of mine is scarcely an agreeable man: the awkwardness of *mauvaise-honte*

honte might be pitied and pardoned, even in a nobleman," continued her ladyship, "if it really proceeded from humility; but here, when I know it is connected with secret and inordinate arrogance, 'tis past all endurance. Even his ways of sitting and standing provoke me, they are so self-sufficient. Have you observed how he stands at the fire? Oh, the caricature of "*the English fire-side*" outdone! Then, if he sits, we hope that change of posture may afford our eyes transient relief; but worse again: bolstered up, with his back against his chair, his hands in his pockets, and his legs thrown out, in defiance of all passengers and all decorum, there he sits, in magisterial silence, throwing a gloom upon all conversation. As the Frenchman said of the Englishman, for whom even his politeness could not find another compliment, "Il faut avouer que ce Monsieur a un grand talent pour le silence;"—he holds his tongue, till people actually believe that he has something to say—a mistake they could never fall into if he would but speak.—It is not timidity; it is all pride. I would pardon his dulness, and even his ignorance; for one, as you say, might be the fault of his nature, and the other of his education: but his self-sufficiency is his own fault; and that I will not, and cannot pardon. Somebody says, that nature may make a fool, but a coxcomb is always of his own making. Now, my cousin—(as he is my cousin, I may say what I please of him)—my cousin Craiglethorpe is a solemn coxcomb, who thinks, because his vanity is not talkative and sociable, that it's not vanity. What a mistake!" I. 146—148.

These other traits of her character are given, on different occasions, by Lord Glenthorn.

'At first I had thought her merely superficial, and intent solely upon her own amusement; but I soon found that she had a taste for literature, beyond what could have been expected in one who lived so dissipated a life; a depth of reflection that seemed inconsistent with the rapidity with which she thought; and, above all, a degree of generous indignation against meanness and vice, which seemed incompatible with the selfish character of a fine lady, and which appeared quite incomprehensible to the imitating tribe of her fashionable companions.' I. 174.

'Lady Geraldine was superior to manœuvring little arts, and petty stratagems, to attract attention. She would not stoop, even to conquer. From gentlemen she seemed to expect attention as her right, as the right of her sex; not to beg or accept of it as a favour: if it were not paid, she deemed the gentleman degraded, not herself. Far from being mortified by any preference shown to other ladies, her countenance betrayed only a sarcastic sort of pity for the bad taste of the men, or an absolute indifference and look of haughty absence. I saw that she beheld with disdain the paltry competitions of the young ladies her companions: as her companions, indeed, she hardly seemed to consider them; she tolerated their foi-

bles,

bles, forgave their envy, and never exerted any superiority, except to show her contempt of vice and meanness.' I. 198, 199.

Her whole conduct and conversation are kept in admirable unison with this half wild, half masculine, lofty, and delicate character. It would be endless to extract her repartees and strokes of *naiveté*. We give only her simple account of her mother.

"Every body says," whispered she, "that mamma is the most artful woman in the world; and I should believe it, only that every body says it: now, if it were true, nobody would know it." I. 154.

This may suffice as a specimen of the high life of the piece; which is more original and characteristic than that of Belinda—and altogether as lively and natural. For the low life, we do not know if we could extract a more felicitous specimen than the following description of the equipage in which Lord Glenthorn's English and French servant were compelled to follow their master in Ireland.

'From the inn yard came a hackney chaise, in a most deplorably crazy state; the body mounted up to a prodigious height, on unbending springs, nodding forwards, one door swinging open, three blinds up, because they could not be let down, the perch tied in two places, the iron of the wheels half off, half loose, wooden pegs for linch-pins, and ropes for harness. The horses were worthy of the harness; wretched little dog-tired creatures, that looked as if they had been driven to the last gasp, and as if they had never been rubbed down in their lives; their bones starting through their skin; one lame, the other blind; one with a raw back, the other with a galled breast; one with his neck poking down over his collar, and the other with his head dragged forward by a bit of a broken bridle, held at arms' length by a man dressed like a mad beggar, in half a hat and half a wig, both awry in opposite directions; a long tattered coat, tied round his waist by a hay-rope; the jagged rents in the skirts of this coat showing his bare legs, marbled of many colours; while something like stockings hung loose about his ankles. The noises he made, by way of threatening or encouraging his steeds, I pretend not to describe. In an indignant voice I called to the landlord—"I hope these are not the horses—I hope this is not the chaise, intended for my servants." The innkeeper, and the pauper who was preparing to officiate as postillion, both in the same instant exclaimed—"*Sorrow* better chaise in the county!" "*Sorrow!*" said I—"what do you mean by sorrow?" That there's no better, plase your honour, can be seen. We have two more to be sure—but one has no top, and the other no bottom. Any way there's no better can be seen than this same." "And these horses," cried I—"why this horse is so lame he can hardly stand." "Oh, plase your honour, tho' he can't stand, he'll *go* fast enough. He has a great deal of the rogue in him, plase your honour. He's always that way at first

first setting out." "And that wretched animal with the galled breast!" "He's all the better for it, when once he warms; it's he that will go with the speed of light, plase your honour. Sure, is not he Knockecroghery? and didn't I give fifteen guineas for him, barring the luckpenny, at the fair of Knockecroghery, and he rising four year old at the same time?" I. 61—63.

'Then seizing his whip and reins in one hand, he clawed up his stockings with the other; so with one easy step he got into his place, and seated himself, coachman-like, upon a well-worn bar of wood, that served as a coach-box. "Throw me the loan of a trusty, Bartly, for a cushion," said he. A frieze coat was thrown up over the horse's heads. Paddy caught it. "Where are you, Hosey?" cried he. "Sure I'm only rowling a wisp of straw on my leg," replied Hosey. "Throw me up," added this paragon of postillions, turning to one of the crowd of idle bystanders. "Arrah, push me up, can't ye?"—A man took hold of his knee, and threw him upon the horse. He was in his seat in a trice. Then clinging by the mane of his horse, he scrambled for the bridle which was under the other horse's feet, reached it, and, well satisfied with himself, looked round at Paddy, who looked back to the chaise-door at my angry servants, "secure in the last event of things." In vain the Englishman, in monotonous anger, and the Frenchman in every note of the gamut, abused Paddy. Necessity and wit were on Paddy's side. He parried all that was said against his chaise, his horses, himself, and his country, with invincible comic dexterity; till at last both his adversaries, dumb-founded, clambered into the vehicle, where they were instantly shut up in straw and darkness. Paddy, in a triumphant tone, called to *my* postillions, bidding them "get on, and not be stopping the way any longer." I. 64, 65.

By and by the wheel-horse stopped short, and began to kick furiously.

"Never fear," reiterated Paddy. "Ill engage I'll be up wid him. Now for it, Knockecroghery! Oh the rogue, he thinks he has me at a *nonplush*; but I'll show him the *differ*."

'After this brag of war, Paddy whipped, Knockecroghery kicked, and Paddy, seemingly unconscious of danger, sat within reach of the kicking horse, twitching up first one of his legs, then the other, and shifting as the animal aimed his hoofs, escaping every time as it were by miracle. With a mixture of temerity and presence of mind, which made us alternately look upon him as a madman and a hero, he gloried in the danger, secure of success, and of the sympathy of the spectators.

"Ah! didn't I *compass* him cleverly then? Oh the villain, to be browbating me! I'm too cute for him yet. See, there, now, he's come to; and I'll be his bail he'll go *asy* enough wid me. Ogh! he has a fine spirit of his own; but it's I that can match him. 'Twould be a poor case if a man like me couldn't match a horse any

any way, let alone a mare, which this is, or it never would be so vicious." I. 68, 69.

The most delectable personage, however, in the whole tale, is the antient Irish nurse Ellinor. The devoted affection, infantine simplicity, and strange pathetic eloquence of this half-savage, kind-hearted creature, afford Miss Edgeworth occasion for many most original and characteristic representations. We shall scarcely prepossess our English readers in her favour, by giving the description of her cottage.

'It was a wretched looking, low, mud-walled cabin. At one end it was propped by a buttress of loose stones, upon which stood a goat reared on his hind legs, to browze on the grass that grew on the housetop. A dunghill was before the only window, at the other end of the house, and close to the door was a puddle of the dirtiest of dirty water, in which ducks were dabbling. At my approach, there came out of the cabin a pig, a calf, a lamb, a kid and two geese, all with their legs tied; followed by cocks, hens, chickens, a dog, a cat, a kitten, a beggar-man, a beggar-woman, with a pipe in her mouth; children innumerable, and a stout girl, with a pitchfork in her hand; altogether more than I, looking down upon the roof as I sat on horseback, and measuring the superficies with my eye, could have possibly supposed the mansion capable of containing. I asked if Ellinor O'Donoghoe was at home; but the dog barked, the geese cackled, the turkeys gobbled, and the beggars begged with one accord, so loudly, that there was no chance of my being heard. When the *girl* had at last succeeded in appeasing them all with her pitchfork, she answered, that Ellinor O'Donoghoe was at home, but that she was out with the potatoes; and she ran to fetch her, after calling to *the boys, who was within in the room smoking*, to come out to his honour. As soon as they had crouched under the door, and were able to stand upright, they welcomed me with a very good grace, and were proud to see me in *the kingdom*. I asked if they were all Ellinor's sons. "All entirely," was the first answer. "Not one but one," was the second answer. The third made the other two intelligible. "Plase your Honour, we are all her sons-in-law, except myself, who am her lawful son." "Then you are my foster-brother?" "No, plase your Honour, it's not me, but my brother, and he's *not in it.*" "*Not in it?*" "No, plase your Honour; because he's in the forge up *above*. Sure he's the blacksmith, my lard." "And what are you?" "I'm Ody, plase your honour;" the short for Owen,' &c. I. 94–96.

It is impossible, however, for us to select any thing that could give our readers even a vague idea of the interest, both serious and comic, that is produced by this original character, without quoting more of the story than we can now make room for. We cannot leave it, however, without making our acknowledgements to Miss Edgeworth for the handsome way in which she has treated

ed our country, and for the judgment as well as liberality she has shown in the character of Mr Macleod, the proud, sagacious, friendly and reserved agent of her hero. There is infinite merit and powers of observation even in her short sketch of his exterior.

'He was a hard-featured, strong built, perpendicular man, with a remarkable quietness of deportment: he spoke with deliberate distinctness, in an accent slightly Scotch; and, in speaking, he made use of no gesticulation, but held himself surprisingly still. No part of him, but his eyes, moved; and they had an expression of slow, but determined good sense. He was sparing of his words; but the few that he used said much, and went directly to the point.' I. 82.

After having said so much of 'Ennui,' we can afford but a very slight account of the Victim of Fashion. This is the daughter of a rich Yorkshire grazier, who, with a fortune of two hundred thousand pounds, is smitten with the desire of being fine and fashionable; and first throws off the society of her earliest and most respectable friends, to copy the purse-proud airs of a rich banking baronet's lady; then abjures the banker, in order to be occasionally insulted in the house of a lady of high birth; next deserts her, to purchase the favour of another who has influence at court; and finally settles down into the society of a few hired and domestic flatterers, who bear with her peevishness and discontent, for the sake of sharing in her melancholy splendour. The progress of this despicable infatuation, and the havoc it makes among all her original claims to respect and enjoyment, are very finely and artfully delineated. The greatest piece of management, however, in the story, is the character of Miss Elmour, the early friend of our unfortunate heroine. Instead of being brought out in broad contrast, it is softened and kept under with such admirable judgment, that the reader feels half angry at her long-suffering kindness and affection for so ungrateful an object,—and at the slowness with which her innate superiority is ultimately made triumphant. The dramatic part of this story, and indeed the whole dialogue of the publication, is excellent; but we can only make room for the comparative view of the fashion of the banker's lady, and the fashion of the lady of family. Upon her removal to the family of the latter,

'Almeria found the style of dress, manners, and conversation, different from what she had seen at Lady Stock's—she had easily imitated the affectation of Lady Stock, but there was an ease in the decided tone of Lady Bradstone, which could not be so easily acquired. Having lived from her infancy in the best company, there were no heterogeneous mixtures in her manners; and the consciousness of this gave an habitual air of security to her words, looks, and motions. Lady Stock seemed forced to beg, or buy—Lady Bradstone, accustomed

accustomed to command, or levy, admiration as her rightful tribute. The pride of Lady Bradstone was uniformly resolute, and successful; the insolence of Lady Stock, if it were opposed, became cowardly and ridiculous. Lady Bradstone seemed to have, on all occasions, an instinctive sense of what a person of fashion ought to do; Lady Stock, notwithstanding her bravadoing air, was frequently perplexed, and anxious, and therefore awkward—she had always recourse to precedents. "Lady P——— said so—or Lady Q——— did so—Lady G——— wore this, or Lady H——— was there, and therefore I am sure it was proper." On the contrary, Lady Bradstone never quoted authorities, but presumed that she was a precedent for others. The one was eager to follow—the other determined to lead, the fashion. Our heroine, who was by no means deficient in penetration, and whose whole attention was now given to the study of externals, quickly perceived these shades of difference between her late and her present friend. She remarked, in particular, that she found herself much more at ease in Lady Bradstone's society. Her ladyship's pride was not so offensive as Lady Stock's vanity: secure of her own superiority, Lady Bradstone did not want to measure herself every instant with inferiors. She treated Almeria as her equal in every respect; and in setting her right in points of fashion, never seemed to triumph, but to consider her own knowledge as a necessary consequence of the life she had led from her infancy. With a sort of proud generosity, she always considered those whom she honoured with her friendship, as thenceforward entitled to all the advantages of her own situation, and to all the respect due to a part of herself. She now always used the word we, with peculiar emphasis, in speaking of Miss Turnbull and herself. This was a signal perfectly well understood by her acquaintance. Almeria was received every where with the most distinguished attention; and she was delighted, and absolutely intoxicated, with her sudden rise in the world of fashion. She found that her former acquaintance at Lady Stock's were extremely ambitious of claiming an intimacy; but this could not be done. Miss Turnbull had now acquired, by practice, the power of looking at people, without seeming to see them; and of forgetting those with whom she was perfectly well acquainted. Her opinion of her own consequence was much raised by the court that was paid to her by several young men of fashion, who thought it expedient to marry two hundred thousand pounds.' II. 55—58.

We wish we could make some extracts from 'Manœuvring,' but we have left ourselves no room;—and for the story, as it contains the history of the making, and the failure of three several connected plots, it is obvious that we could give no intelligible account of it within any moderate limits. It is written with admirable skill and correctness of imitation; and is likely, we think, to be the most fashionable, though by no means the most useful or instructive

structive of the collection. There is a painful and humble pathos in some parts of 'the Dun,' upon which we have not spirits to enter. We earnestly intreat all good-natured youths of fashion to read it through, and not to be too impatient to get rid of the impressions which it must excite in them.

We must now take an abrupt and reluctant leave of Miss Edgeworth. Thinking as we do, that her writings are, beyond all comparison, the most useful of any that have come before us since the commencement of our critical career, it would be a point of conscience with us to give them all the notoriety that they can derive from our recommendation, even if their execution were in some measure liable to objection. In our opinion, however, they are as entertaining as they are instructive; and the genius and wit and imagination they display, are at least as remarkable as the justness of the sentiments they so powerfully inculcate. To some readers they may seem to want the fairy colouring of high fancy and romantic tenderness; and it is very true, that they are not poetical love tales any more than they are anecdotes of scandal. We have great respect for the admirers of Rousseau and Petrarca; and we have no doubt that Miss Edgeworth has great respect for them;—but *the world*, both high and low, which she is labouring to mend, have no sympathy with this respect. They laugh at these things, and do not understand them; and therefore, the solid sense which she presses perhaps rather too closely upon them, though it admits of relief from wit and direct pathos, really could not be combined with the more luxuriant ornaments of an ardent and tender imagination. We say this merely to obviate the only objection which we think can be made to the execution of these stories; and to justify our decided opinion, that they are actually as *perfect* as it was possible to make them with safety to the great object of the author.

ART. VIII. *Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne, et du Démembrement de cette République.* Par Cl. Rulhiere. 4 tomes, 8vo. Paris. 1807.

THE first thing in these volumes, is a biographical account of the author; whose name was at one time formidable even to the Semiramis of the North. Having been secretary to the French ambassador, M. de Breteuil at Petersburg, he drew up, after his return to Paris in 1765, a minute and accurate account of that singular revolution which had recently placed Catharine upon the throne of her deposed husband. The manuscript was privately circulated in the fashionable circles of Paris; but coming

coming at length to the knowledge of the Empress, her influence was first exerted to induce the author to suppress it; and failing in this, she then tried by her agents at court to intimidate him into a surrender. All that could be obtained, however, was a promise not to publish it till after her death: and this paction was adhered to, not only by him, but by his heirs; for though Rulhiere died in 1791, the narrative did not appear in print till 1797, after the death of the Empress.

It had been in contemplation, it appears, soon after our author's return from Russia, to send him on a secret mission to Poland; but that appointment having been suddenly given to Dumourier, he was obliged to content himself with the safer, and less conspicuous task, of writing a history of its troubles for the instruction of the Dauphin. He was afterwards made secretary to the King's brother—obtained a pension from government—became a member of the Academy—wrote a philosophical poem, which was praised by Voltaire—and lived in intimacy with Montesquieu, Mably, Rousseau, Neckar, and others at the top of the Parisian scale of celebrity. He was accommodated, for the purposes of his history, with the use of all the documents which the archives of foreign affairs could afford; and what he could not get from those sources, he was enabled to draw from Vienna, Dresden and Berlin, which places he visited in the year 1776. With all these advantages, however, the work advanced so slowly, that it was not finished when the author died in 1791. The narrative was only completed down to the end of the year 1770; for from that period till the peace of Kainardgi when it closes, there were frequent chasms and imperfections, which the editors were obliged to fill up with such sketches and notices as they could find among his materials. These imperfections in that portion of the work which embraces the partition, certainly impair its value; but there is still much interesting information upon that subject, both in the unfinished and in the preceding parts; and the work, upon the whole, is of no ordinary value.

The singular aspect of the Polish population, which exhibited both liberty and slavery in their greatest extremes; the fatal effects she experienced from dissensions, both civil and religious—from the exorbitant powers of the nobility, and the abasement of the people; and the unprecedented circumstance of the concert formed by her three neighbours to despoil her of her possessions,—all concur to give an interest to her history beyond what might seem due to the characters and events it unfolds. M. Rulhiere, after twenty years' labour, has not done full justice to so fine a subject. He keeps clear of the general views which it might have afforded, and occupies himself too much in details of anecdotes and intrigues. Besides, he rambles greatly too far into the con-

cerns of the adjoining nations. The reader who expects to find the book occupied with Poland only, will indeed be disappointed; agreeably, we admit—if he can overlook the breach of historical rules, and give up unity for variety. The author ranges from the polar to the equatorial regions; and presents us with a vast miscellany of Russian, Turkish and Tartar history. But this load of episodical matter proves, in general, a heavy weight upon the march of the narrative; and frequently rather bears down and obscures, than elucidates the main object. There are, however, some examples of collateral inquiry, happily blending with, and supporting the story: and, in just indulgence to a posthumous work, we may remark, that, had this able writer lived to finish and publish it, some of its redundancies might perhaps have been pruned, and the ill-fitting members more harmoniously adjusted.

The author deposited a copy of the manuscript, before he died, in the Foreign Office at Paris; and it lay there unheeded till 1807; when the projected restoration of Poland seems to have occasioned some inquiries about it. A more complete copy was then found in the possession of Rulhiere's heirs; but some of them had attempted, it seems, to make alterations in it; and it would have been published with these, had not the Emperor himself interfered to reclaim the genuine text of a work composed by the order, and at the expense of the former government: and thus a book, composed for the instruction of Lewis the Sixteenth, is brought out under the immediate protection of the usurper of his throne!

It may be gathered from the title, that it was not the author's design to write a history of Poland from its rise as a state, or to dwell on her brighter periods, when she gave Czars to Muscovy, received the homage of Prussia, and turned back the tide of infidel war from the walls of Vienna. His object seems rather to have been, to write the history of those troubles in the republic, which were excited, or fomented, by the ambitious interference of Russia, and which ultimately ended in the violent dismemberment of her territory. But, in order to do this, it was necessary to trace back the sources of these disorders in her own constitution, and thus point out the openings and excitements to foreign influence which were afforded by its vices and defects.

M. Rulhiere, accordingly, commences with a view of the history and nature of the constitution of Poland. Except in contending that it was not founded on those feudal usages which obtained in the other countries of Europe, he differs little in his remarks from other writers upon the same subject; but perhaps he is not sufficiently precise to be quite intelligible to those who have not acquired some previous knowledge of it. There is no want of writers for this purpose. Mr Coxe gives a good popular view of the

the Poliſh conſtitution; and, though not very deep, he is more inſtructive than the Pariſian profeſſor De la Croix. They who wiſh to go higher will find matter for meditation in the treatiſes of Mably and Rouſſeau; and we muſt think with Sir James Macintoſh, * that that of the latter is, notwithſtanding Mr Burke's ſneers at his political writings, particularly worthy of peruſal. It contains ſome deep obſervations, and many brilliant and elevated thoughts, alongſt with a good deal, we admit, of impracticable and very queſtionable theory. In the view of reforming this government, for which purpoſe he was called to give his advice, he lays down as fundamental principles—that reforms muſt be gradual and temperate—adapted to the forms of the conſtitution where that is practicable—and conſonant to the habits and ſentiments and attainments of the people. But he has not proceeded far in this ſober courſe, till his admiration of the antient republics leads him to forget theſe maxims, and to recommend the reformation of the Poliſh government according to their uſages and inſtitutions. In the ſame ſpirit, he deduces the anarchy of Poland from the great extent of her territory, and recommends the narrowing of her limits as the firſt and moſt efficacious of reforms. It was not long before the partitioning powers carried this recommendation into effect; but the republic, brought nearer to Rouſſeau's claſſical extenſion, did not become more happy than before.

The first misfortunes of this country were obviously produced, not by its extent, but by its elective monarchy,—the monstrous privilege of the *liberum veto*, by which any one representative could break up the diet, and nullify its acts,—the excessive power of the nobles, and the political degradation and slavery of the people. The representative system extended only to the nobles or equestrian order; and thus Polish liberty had no sort of communion with the majority of the nation. It was tossed to and fro in the upper region of aristocracy; and was at last wrecked, for want of a hold in the interests and affections of the multitude. The destruction of Polish independence did not impair the existing stock of human happiness—did not deprive freedom of a province of her legitimate empire; for the only triumph that was witnessed at her fall, was that of unprincipled ambition over a people whom oppression had rendered indifferent to the fate of their country. In the fatal struggle which preceded the first partition, by far the greater part of the nation, says M. Rulhiere, remained absolutely indifferent as to the issue; and not a few secretly desired the downfal of their domestic oppressors. What, indeed, was there to determine the choice of the peasantry be-

* Vind. Gall.

tween the yoke of their invaders and that to which they were already subjected? There was no feeling of interest or glory—no dread of the loſs of liberty from the ſubjugation of their country, to excite them to take an active part in its defence. And thus it is that the invaders become conquerors,—that the cauſe of juſtice is not always that which is ſucceſsful,—that the transference of power is viewed without regret by thoſe who neither participate in, nor are made happy by its exerciſe.

Having taken a brief ſurvey of what Poland was in her better days, the author enters pretty largely into the hiſtory of Ruſſia, and traces the ſteps by which ſhe roſe to that height of power that made her ſo formidable a neighbour to a country expoſed to frequent internal diſſensions. In doing this, he makes a variety of remarks upon the miſtaken efforts of Peter the Great, to elevate and poliſh his ſubjects; but he does not point out with ſufficient force the radical error and abſurdity of theſe prepoſterous plans of reform, once the theme of ſuch extravagant praiſe, and of which we ſtill read with pleaſure in the proſe of Voltaire, and the poetry of Thomſon. The mind of this Prince was certainly directed to mighty objects; but, in a great many inſtances, he utterly miſtook the means. He wanted to make his people poliſhed and induſtrious, without entruſting them either with education, property, or freedom. He wiſhed to raiſe a magnificent ſtructure,—and provided the ornaments before clearing away the rubbiſh, or making ſure of the foundation. He compelled his nobles to travel into other countries, without giving them any previous education, or providing ſociety or occupation for them on their return. He ſhaved the beards of his barbarians by force, and fancied that they would act, becauſe they looked, like poliſhed men. He did not ſcruple at reforms which required the aid of the axe and the knout; and, blinded with the plenitude of that power to which he truſted for ſucceſs, he did not perceive in that abaſement which made his ſlaves kiſs the rod with which he ſtruck them, an invincible obſtacle to his prepoſterous ambition of enriching a nation of *ſerfs* with the treaſures of civilization.

Peter, however, was more ſucceſsful in rendering his people formidable to their neighbours; and it was during his reign that Ruſſia acquired a hurtful aſcendancy in the affairs of Poland. By the forcible election of Auguſtus the Second, the nation was unhappily divided, and each party ſought to ſtrengthen itſelf by foreign aſſiſtance. Another Sovereign was elected under the auſpices of Charles the Twelfth; but after a long ſeries of convulſions, Auguſtus was fixed on the throne, by the aid, and under the protection, of Ruſſia. This civil war had a pernicious effect upon the national character, which was ſtill more deteriorated by the corrupt example of the court of Auguſtus acting upon a people relieved

lieved from a long period of dangers and agitations. The defence of the country, and the ſtudy of the military art, at that time making rapid advances all around them, were utterly neglected; and ſenſible, of the vices of their conſtitution, but unwilling to amend it, they gave themſelves up to a deluſive hope, that their nation, though weak in itſelf, would always be protected by the general ſyſtem of Europe.

This languor and corruption continued under Auguſtus the Third; who, indeed, with his favourite miniſter Bruhl, had no other principle of government, but that of an entire dependence upon Ruſſia. The Poles, jealous of a Sovereign who choſe rather to reſide in his hereditary than in his elective dominions, and who was conſtantly guided by a power whom they reckoned their natural enemy, had always recourſe to the *liberum veto*, for diſſolving the diets which he convoked; and thus this diſtracted country was left, during the greater part of his reign, in a great meaſure, without any government. It was during this period of internal negligence and relaxation, that a ſcheme was formed in France for reſtoring the republic to ſome degree of vigour and independence. But when nearly brought to maturity by the able negotiations of the Count de Broglio, the alliance with Auſtria, and the new politics of the French cabinet, interfered to deſtroy it. M. Rulhiere has given a curious account of this famous alliance, as well as of thoſe Poliſh meaſures which it defeated. The ſum of it will be found in the following paragraph.

There were two parties in the court of Lewis XV., who ſought, by ſecret intrigues, to obtain an influence in foreign affairs altogether independent of, and unknown to, the miniſters of the crown. Lewis was himſelf privy to the proceedings of one of theſe parties, by means of the ſecret diplomatic correſpondence which he maintained with certain agents abroad.* At the head of this party was the Prince de Conti; and its primary object was, to reſcue Poland from the thraldom of Ruſſia by means of a league with France, Sweden, and Turkey; and, to accompliſh this ſalutary object, the Count de Broglio was ſent to Poland. It ought not, however, to be imagined, that this ſcheme originated in virtuous and enlightened views of policy. It ſprung from the perſonal ambition of the Prince de Conti, who was flattered with the hope of one day becoming King of Poland; and Lewis, from a principle of affection, originating in his marriage with a Poliſh lady, gave his ſupport to a plan which promiſed to be advantageous to that country. The

* Our readers will find an account of this ſingular correſpondence in the firſt part of that inſtructive work, *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe.*

other party, again, were buſily employed in promoting that alliance which proved ſo unfavourable to theſe objects. By ſome writers, this alliance has been aſcribed to Madame Pompadour's reſentment of the King of Pruſſia's ſarcaſms; while M. Segur has given it a more dignified ſource in a dread of the ambition, not of the wit of that Monarch. But M. Rulhiere's account is, that a marriage between a granddaughter of Lewis and the Emperor was projected by a party at court, and that the Auſtrian alliance was ſought chiefly as a means of facilitating that object. And this party having the intereſt of Mad. Pompadour, at length brought over the King to ſupport them. Thus, ſays M. Rulhiere, by a tiſſue of intrigues which fell in with correſponding intrigues at Vienna, and not by any change of circumſtances which could warrant ſo great a revolution, was France engaged in an unnatural alliance; which took the balance of Germany out of her hands, involved her in an unprincipled and ruinous war with Pruſſia, and led her to abandon Poland to the ravages of Ruſſia during that war.

The diſtractions conſequent upon an election to the throne followed hard upon theſe oppreſſions to which Poland was ſubjected during the Seven-years' war. The diſadvantages of an elective crown are univerſally admitted; and they appear in their ſtrongeſt light in a country like Poland, where there was no people—no thinking public, to check or direct, to enlighten or overawe. 'The nobles of Poland,' ſays Mr Hume, 'ſeem to have preſerved their crown elective, for no other purpoſe than to ſell it to the higheſt bidder.'* It is thus that corruption enjoys a barefaced impunity, whenever the bulk of a nation are, through the deſtitution of political rights, made altogether indifferent to public affairs.

The Empress of Russia did not wait for the death of Augustus the Third to indicate the part she meant to act in the election of his successor. She told the Baron de Breteuil, when he proposed that France should act in concert with her, 'that it belonged to her alone to give a King to Poland.' The intrigues she set on foot, and the acts of violence which she employed, to place her former favourite Poniatowski on the throne, are fully described by M. Rulhiere, who also gives a long and very unfavourable account of the adventures and character of that personage. The ambassador whom Catharine at this time employed to forward her views in Poland, appears to have been so singular a character, that we shall translate part of M. Rulhiere's account of him, for the information of our readers. His name was Keyserling.

—'He possessed that art, happily not very common, but which is always employed with success against the liberty of nations, the art of

* Essays—On Refinement.

of combining the most tyrannical acts with an apparent respect for republican forms. He was one of those Courlanders whom hope had formerly led to the Court of Russia during the reign of the Empress Anne. To serve that Court he had quitted a Professor's Chair in the University of Konigsburg. Although the smallness of his stature, and his excessive corpulency, gave him an appearance somewhat ridiculous; his carriage was still imposing, and had a certain magisterial air which he derived from his original profession. He had the reputation of being one of the most learned men in Europe in regard to public law and the ancient languages; and beneath his coarse exterior, there was concealed a very artful mind, and a wily system of conduct. But he lived without the smallest respect for decency,—ruined himself in obscure debaucheries, and repaired his fortune at the expense of his character.—In a journey to Poland, he met with Poniatowski when young, and by a natural return to his profession, had given him instructions, whence he now assumed the right of calling him his pupil and son.—Grown old in futile negotiations, full of profound contempt for business, for honours, and above all for courts, he had acquired that habit of indifference and resignation in executing foolish commissions, which is sometimes exemplified in very old ambassadors.—When employed at Vienna, he lived in a very extraordinary manner. He kept a palace for mere form; for he lived in a garden in one of the suburbs, passing his time with some unknown literary men, with musicians, with his bastards and their mothers, learning what was going on in Europe only from the gazettes; ill payed by his government, and paying nobody himself.' T. 2.

The Empress of Russia was not disturbed by other powers in her violent and unprincipled efforts to force upon the Poles a king whom the majority detested. Prussia acted in concert with her, France and Austria were nearly indifferent, and Turkey was the only state that seemed at all alarmed at the open violation of an independent country. The noble opposition of the Polish chiefs, Branicki, Mokranouski and Radzivil, sheds a ray of glory over the history of these times. We feel indignant that no nation of Europe supported their cause, and are warmed and interested by the elevation of mind and contempt of danger which they displayed amidst the outrages of the Russian barbarians, even when we recollect that their cause was after all but the cause of a tumultuous aristocracy, who wished to preserve their authority, unimpaired by a foreign yoke.—The following account of Branicki, whilst it will make the reader acquainted with his character, will also afford a glimpse of the manners and occupations of the Polish nobility.

'Count Branicki, grand-general of the kingdom, preserved, in advanced age, vigour of body and firmness of soul. His office, to which the whole military authority was confided, was regarded by the

Poles as the strongest barrier against the royal authority. But the personal qualities of Branicki increased its consideration. Honesty and firmness formed the basis of his character. During a long and adventurous life, he was always actuated by sentiments of honour. In his early years, he served in France; and on his return to Poland, became one of the chiefs, by whose courage and perseverance, Augustus the Second was compelled to send his Saxon troops out of the kingdom. He was remarkable for his sensibility to pleasure, and his love of splendour. But that dignity which never forsook him, made him always of high estimation in the republic. The Princes Czartorinski sought his alliance; and though he publicly kept a seraglio, gave him their niece, an elegant young woman, in marriage. Branicki had no other family than that multitude of good citizens who loved to surround him. The situation of his estates, in the centre of the kingdom, was favourable to the concourse of the nobility; and his palace of Bialistok was the finest monument of the arts which that country had yet seen. Here the pomp of Asia was combined with the taste of Europe; and here, according to antient usage, the nobles, in the midst of shows and feasts conferred on public affairs, recalled the glories of their ancestors, and concerted the means of preserving their independence.' T. 1.

Shall we be accused of undue partiality to those *frail* Polish patriots, in adding the following short character of the most eloquent and intrepid amongst them? Cato's patriotism, it has been said, sometimes glowed with wine; and it appears that love helped to animate that of Mokranowski.

'This Pole, of a lofty stature and noble presence, accustomed in his youth to those violent exercises which the prodigious strength of Augustus the Second made fashionable among the young nobility, could break with a single blow the head of a bull, or bend in his hand a bar of iron. After having served in France with honour, and in Prussia with the favour of the King, he returned to Poland still young; and, notwithstanding the smallness of his fortune, soon acquired great consideration in the republic by his bravery, his ready knowledge of men, his talent for inspiring those around him with confidence, and his eloquence, which consisted in expressing with simplicity the most elevated sentiments. In him might be seen a remarkable union of the virtues the most admired in the antient republics, with that gallantry which is characteristic of modern times. And in labouring to free his country from the despotism of Russia, by one day placing the crown on the head of Branicki, he perhaps desired, with equal ardour, to obtain thereby the favourable opinion of the wife of that illustrious old man.' T. 1.

During the interregnum, Poniatowski's uncles, the Princes Czartorinski, had succeeded in making considerable innovations upon the constitution. They had patriotism, as well as talents and ambition; and had long meditated in silence those changes which

which their intrigues and their influence at last enabled them to effect. Their main object was to strengthen the power of the crown, by adding to it the influence hitherto enjoyed by the great officers of state, and by placing the army and finances more immediately under its controul. They wished, too, to improve the condition of the peasants, and gradually to bring down the power of the nobility. Though acting, at this time, in concert with Russia, they contrived partly to deceive her as to the scope and tendency of these innovations, which were in fact intended ultimately to defeat her views, by giving the government more solidity and independence. But these statesmen committed one great error, which completely overthrew their projects. They joined in excluding the *Dissidents*, or dissenters, from the government;—a measure which, by exciting deep animosity in that body, alienated their affections, threw them into the arms of Russia, and brought on a civil war which ended in the ruin of the country.

Every British reader must see the application of this part of the history of Poland. Read but *Catholics* for *Dissidents*, and the warning is before us. We have repeated in Ireland the error of the Polish government; and we ask in vain for security that the catastrophe may not be the same. 'It is a singular observation,' says an excellent writer, 'and which should have the greatest weight with a legislature, that though all modern history is full of mischiefs, occasioned by the *want* of toleration, yet no author has ever undertaken to show, that any public evils have any where been occasioned by *granting* it.'* The toleration to which this liberal churchman alludes, is not that jealous boon which allows a man to worship his God, free from the fear of persecution; but that which exposes no man to *want any thing*, or *suffer any thing* from the state, on account of his faith, when that faith is not obviously subversive of order or morality. It was by this genuine sort of toleration that Poland grew and prospered; and it was by departing from its maxims in later times, that she added religious animosities to all her other evils, and drove a part of her people to seek the aid of the natural enemy of their country. 'Poland' says M. Rulhiere 'did not grow by conquest, for which her constitusion was unfit, nor by industry, to which it was directly adverse;—but, by admitting all the surrounding religions to equal privileges, she in fact added whole provinces to the state.' Cherishing all the modes of Christian worship, and prospering by the generosity of her principles, she determined to make their equality a fundamental part of her constitution. It was therefore enacted in 1573, as a permanent

* Bishop of St Asaph's Works, vol. II.

manent law, that all the different sects should be equally eligible to the Diet, and to all offices of trust. Her best days were during the period when this wise enactment subsisted in vigour; but it came in time to be encroached upon; and, in 1736, the Dissidents were at length denied admission to the Diet, or the great offices of state. From that period, their discontents make a conspicuous figure in the troubles of Poland. In the Diet in which the Czartorinski had introduced their innovations, their claims were rudely treated, because these statesmen thought it useful on that occasion to truckle to the bishops, and to humour the fanaticism of the multitude. We agree, said they to the former, to exclude the Dissidents, provided you assist us in our projects of improving the constitution to the detriment of Russia. They did not perceive, that, by perpetuating discontents, they promoted all the worst views of that power. They forgot that the patriotic affections are worn out by continued unkindness,—that the ties of loyalty lose their influence over men irritated and disgusted with the constant rejection of just claims. If what Mr Burke says be true, 'that the greater virtues are at a market too high for ordinary humanity,' it is surely unreasonable to expect that men will continue attached to a government which requires all the duties of citizens, while it treats them like aliens and outlaws.

The arguments by which the Dissidents were opposed, were not without their share of popularity, and have, indeed, been pretty closely followed in more imposing assemblies than the Diet of Poland. Almost every country, it was said, had an established religion to which certain political privileges were attached. The Dissidents had their teachers, preachers, and churches, and were protected in the free exercise of their religion. What they wanted then, was *power*, and not *toleration*. This was thought a mighty strong argument—as if it were enough not to be actually persecuted—as if a religion were really free whose professors are stamped with distrust—as if to be deprived of civil privileges on account of it were no injury—as if, in fine, there is nothing to complain of, when talents and honourable ambition are rudely pushed back from that eminence which those favoured of the state are allowed freely to ascend.

Against all this the Dissidents appealed to the old laws, to the better times of the republic, and to the general principles of liberty and expediency. And it is curious enough to find England interfering (we quote from our Ambassador's declaration to the Diet *) 'for that *oppressed* part of the Polish nation the Dissidents,'

* See the Declaration delivered by Mr Wroughton to the Diet in 1764.—*State Papers, Annual Register.*

dents;' arguing 'the closeness of connexion between the *interests* of the republic and the *justice* of their claims;' stating, too, 'that these claims are founded on a doctrine, whose principle of benevolence makes it characteristic of Christianity;' and disapproving of 'their *exclusion* from honourable employments, and the means of serving their country.' Such were the principles upon which England judged it wise to ground her remonstrance in behalf of the excluded Poles; and it is truly lamentable to think of the risk which she now voluntarily incurs, by repeating that very error she so long ago exposed and reprobated in the government of Poland.

The Dissidents, in an evil hour, sought the assistance of the Empress of Russia; who, glad of the pretext, instantly marched an army of forty thousand men into the heart of the country, and thus begun a war which cost Poland the loss of her provinces and independence. Here we see the result of that fatal system of exclusion which has since met with such unexpected countenance among a more enlightened people. With a stronger government, and the barriers which nature has thrown around us, *we* pursue it indeed with less immediate hazard; but it still turns our strength into weakness, and increases, beyond all calculation, dangers, which every hour increases and brings nearer. Nor do the circumstances which distinguish our situation from that of Poland, afford us, after all, the miserable certainty of retaining Ireland to ourselves, poor and discontented, instead of wealthy and loyal. The glimmering of hope which lately appeared on the verge of the European horizon, has now faded into almost total darkness. And yet, while the destroyer is paving his way to us with the ruins of other states, do we superstitiously cling to our destructive follies, and, with a mine under our feet, cajole ourselves with the hope that the foe will not be able to reach a match to it. But, independently altogether of the danger of conquest or separation by foreign means, separation by internal means, is not only probable, but, we fear, certain, if, overlooking the experience of the last civil war, which deprived us of a portion of our dominions, we shall madly continue to refuse a whole people privileges, which they ought, and are determined, to possess.

M. Rulhiere's account of these matters is copious and animated; but that is all. There is no depth of observation, and no dignity even of narration. In the gravest part of the story, he introduces some anedotes of the King's amours, which are below the dignity even of modern history. But there are others, which show the weakness and frivolity of this Prince in strong colours. The day after the Russians had forcibly carried away certain Bishops and Senators for opposing the Empress—an outrage, till then,

then, without example in modern times, and which spread consternation through the capital, the King was found, by the deputies of the Diet, busily employed in sketching the pattern of a new livery for the anniversary of his coronation. We shall extract the author's interesting account of that act of iniquity and despotism, to which we have alluded; observing only, that the history of Catharine's proceedings in Poland might serve a little to moderate that wonder which is so loudly expressed at similar atrocities of our own day. In those, and in the subsequent partition, we may see the image and pattern of all that has happened since; and the powers of Europe are now only suffering for the cooperation, or connivance of their predecessors in these infamous transactions. Then it was that the practice was begun, of exciting subjects against their governments—of converting treaties of peace into stratagems of war—of giving to a tyrannical confiscating agent the respectable name of ambassador—of pillaging and massacring under the guise of protection—of making war without the softening usages of modern times—in fine, of gratifying, at the expense of a weak neighbour, the unhallowed desires of a turbulent and engrossing ambition.—The account of the capture of the Bishops and Senators is as follows.

'Caëtan Soltik, bishop of Cracow, and sovereign duke of Servia, was at supper with his old friend Count Mnikek, marshal of the Court, when news were brought that the neighbouring streets were filled with Russian troops. The hotel belonging to a minister of the republic was surrounded, the door forced, and sentinels placed at all the windows. One passage only remained, which led into the house of the Prussian ambassador, and which the Russians durst not violate; and through it the bishop was urged to escape. But he thought flight unworthy of his character. When the Russians came into the chamber where he was, he rose and threw his papers into the fire; and then turning to the officer, he said, 'Do you know me, that I am sovereign, senator, and priest?' The Russian having answered, that his orders were to arrest him, he embraced Count Mnikek, who was petrified with amazement and fear; and then, without emotion, followed the officer.—The bishop of Kiow, waked by the noise, was found on his knees, with a crucifix in his hand; and after praying for forgiveness to his enemies, and blessing his weeping servants, was setting out with his feet uncovered, when the Russians, moved to pity by superstition, begged him to put on more clothes.—The palatine of Cracow exclaimed, after a moment of silence, 'I would regard death as a favour. I should glory in being assassinated for defending religion and liberty: but the arrest of a senator and general humbles and dishonours my nation.'—They were all led separately, and without domestics, to the camp of the Russians; and were next day carried towards Russia under an escort, without being allowed any sort of communication. They were

were refused not only the comforts which age and infirmities rendered necessary to some of them, but even those necessaries which are never denied to the greatest criminals. At Wilna, they were placed under the care of General Nummers, who, before forwarding them, asked the orders of his court. In reply, the Empress 'offered them liberty, provided they would engage, by writing, not to oppose her will, or the operations of her ambassador.' This offer was made to each separately in his prison, and rejected by all. They were immediately conveyed to Smolensko, and an order given that no person should speak of them, or pronounce their names; and when the war broke out in Poland, they were ordered to Siberia.' t. 2. p. 466—470.

This war was sufficiently embittered by religious animosities; but the sanguinary excesses of the Russians, deepened tenfold all its horrors. M. Rulhiere characterizes in strong terms, though there is no language adequate to the purpose, atrocities which find no parallel in modern history—not even in Lewis the Fourteenth's ravages in the Palatinate, or those of Bonaparte in Italy.

Turkey, naturally jealous of Russia, and not participating in those sinister views which darkened the understandings of some neighbouring powers, was the only state that came to the assistance of the Poles in a struggle which, whatever name it bore, was in fact for the existence of that country. The relations between the republic and this power, lead M. Rulhiere, pretty frequently in the course of his work, to descant upon the character and intrigues of the Ottomans; and he gives a variety of anecdotes illustrative of their ignorance and fatuity, as well as an account of the causes of the comparative weakness into which they had fallen. The Turkish institutions, he observes, are fundamentally adverse to improvement, and must keep them back while other nations are advancing. To make a sensible progress in any thing—to invent new arts, or improve the old, would be an offence against their religion. To seek any knowledge that was not possessed by the founder of the faith, would be to insult him. This is always the case with a people whose legislator, both a prophet and a conqueror, has blended in one code all the duties of religion as well as of government. The Turk, therefore, thinks himself bound in duty to oppose all innovation; and, like the followers of Brama, moves on in a track which he believes to have been pointed out by the Deity. But further, the genius and structure of their system being entirely military, required the constant exercise of the warlike virtues to keep it in vigour. Cessation from war only showed the deformities of a government, which made no provision for, and was incompatible with the arts of peace. When, therefore, the limits of the empire were fixed, and the conquered nations had sunk into submission,

mission, the tranquillity which ensued proved destructive of their power. The art of war was deprived of the only school which this barbarous government afforded; and the Janissaries were allowed to abate the strictness of their antient discipline. The sultans, no longer roused by the great events which formed their predecessors, became slothful and voluptuous; and the offices of the state, in the absence of all military claims to promotion, were necessarily given to favourites equally ignorant and corrupt.

Some of the pachas who accompanied the army into Poland, were so ignorant as to ascribe the effects of the field-artillery to magic. The leading men in their councils scarcely knew the geography of the empire, and had but a very confused notion of that of Europe. When they were told by the French ambassador, that the Russian fleet had passed the Sound—*Qu'est-ce que la Sund?* was the rejoinder. The King of Prussia wrote the Sultan Mustapha an encomiastic letter, telling him, 'that he should have been born three centuries sooner, *among the Selims and Solimans.*' The divan, the seraglio, the ulema, were all consulted in vain for the meaning of this compliment; and the *Shadow of God on Earth* was obliged to have recourse to a dog of a foreigner.

The hostility of the Turks brought the former project of restoring the Greeks into favour at the court of St Petersburg. Its origin has been ascribed to Peter the Great; but M. Rulhiere contends, that it was first broached by Field-Marshal Munich. It was afterwards suggested to Orloff, by a Greek, who served in his company of artillery. The history of this enterprize is most immoderately distended by our author; but they who wish to see an account of it, will be gratified by the perusal. We shall enter no farther into it, than to give part of his account of *Hassan*, who was then the great bulwark of the Turks in the Archipelago, and unquestionably one of the most extraordinary characters which the East has produced.

'Hassan, who at the time in which I write is regarded as the last hope of the Ottoman empire, who has become Captain Pacha, who has subdued all the rebels, restored peace in the provinces, and bound together, for a time, the fragments of this shattered empire—Hassan had been carried off in his infancy, by the Turks, from the frontiers of Persia; was sold as a slave to a person in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and employed as a boatman. In the flower of his age he escaped by the assistance of a Greek, who conducted him to Smyrna, where he entered among the recruits there raising for Algiers. He soon signalized himself among the Africans by his intrepidity in hunting the lion. Twice, in these hunting parties, he was left for dead in the deserts, covered with blood and wounds. These adventures attracted the notice of the Dey, who employed him, loaded

loaded him with favours, and raised him to the second government in the kingdom. But his refusal to take any concern in the disputes between a favourite and a minister, raised him two enemies. Brought to the brink of destruction, he marched the troops of his government against a Spanish fortress on the coast, as if with an intention to attack it. But, taking advantage of the night, he caused his baggage to proceed to the city, where he went himself, the Governor being privy to his design. He afterwards traversed Spain, France, and Italy, repaired to Naples, and there embarked for Constantinople. Arrived there, he was claimed by an Envoy from Algiers, arrested, and, without being heard, conducted to a prison of the seraglio. The Sultan happened to go thither in disguise; but Hassan knew the master of the empire—spoke to him with intrepidity—said that he had come to Constantinople, not as a fugitive and deserter, but as one whose wrongs gave him a right to appeal to the head of the Mussulmans. Mustapha loved courage and justice; and, astonished and pleased with Hassan, he gave him, in this very prison, the command of a ship of war.' t. 3. p. 429—31.

The author's view of the politics of Berlin and Vienna, including the characters of Frederic and Kaunitz, is one of the best written portions of this work. His dislike to the Austrian alliance makes him throw some very dark shades into the portrait of the latter; but the traits he gives of his personal character, correspond with other accounts, particularly those of Wraxall and Marmontel. His view of his political conduct is, that he was entirely guided by two great principles, which were necessarily at variance with an open, direct, and honourable policy, and made his whole negotiations a labyrinth of dark intrigues. Those were, 'that a state ought never to do by itself, what it can do by others;' and that in foreign politics, 'a dexterous diplomatist may accomplish every thing he desires.' M. Rulhiere contrasts this view of his conduct with the King of Prussia's plain-dealing with other powers, which resulted, he says, from a favourite maxim of that Sovereign—that a state whose internal affairs are well regulated, need give itself but little concern about negociations. We cannot make room for his strictures on these subjects; but shall extract part of his account of the personal habits and character of Kaunitz, for the sake of such of our readers as have not heard much of that singular man.

——'An illustrious birth, a great fortune, of which he became master when he was young, the possession of a sovereign county, which he derived from his mother, an elegant person, and noble appearance, with a constant care of himself, made him distinguished and fashionable at a court where his methodical gallantry, his pride, and his indifference, rather recommended than exposed him to ridicule. He carried the extravagant fashion of dressing the hair, which then prevailed in Europe, to the utmost excess, and spent whole days in

in embellishing his head with innumerable buckles. Thus, he was more in company with his hairdresser than any body else. All his youth was spent in this sort of idleness, which degenerated into languor, and a fixed horror at labour, especially regulated labour. It is surprising that those habits did not deprive him of the exquisite qualities with which nature had endowed him—a delicate discernment, quickness, extent of judgment, and an infallible memory. Notwithstanding the advantages of birth, he had begun with those subordinate occupations, which are the usual apprenticeship of young courtiers destined only for civil affairs. In these he learnt the first elements of the old immutable Austrian policy; and, having no military objects in view, never tried to overcome the weaknesses of that effeminate education, in which he had been trained by the perpetual society of women; and which had produced, not only a pusillanimous dread of death, but a horror at the very name, and an affectation of sensibility, with a sort of organical delicacy, that dreaded all painful emotions, and even the changes of the atmosphere.' t. 4. p. 172—3.

We had intended, before closing this article, to give a sketch of the rise and improvements of that glorious system of equipoise by which the nations of Europe had, down to the fatal era of the partition of Poland, been so long protected and distinguished; and to have accompanied this with a brief deduction of its effects upon the subsequent fortunes of the European community. But having already transgressed our usual limits, and having, indeed, frequently adverted to these subjects in other parts of our Journal, we shall, at present, limit ourselves to a very short view of what has been said on the *origin* and progress of the project of partition, of which our author gives an account materially different from other writers.

The possibility of such an abuse of the balancing system as was exemplified in 1772, arose, says M. Gentz, so clearly out of its nature, as to make us wonder, after witnessing the event, that such an abuse was not previously foreseen; but yet, he adds, such a project was never thought of till the fate of Poland was decided by it at that time. This is certainly the common idea; insomuch, that the first conception of the partition is universally ascribed either to Frederic or his brother Prince Henry. The inconveniences resulting from the discontiguous state of his dominions during the Seven-years' war, made Frederic exceedingly desirous, it is said, to acquire the interjected Polish provinces; and, knowing that he could not succeed in this object without the concurrence of Russia and Austria, he devised the partition as a means of bribing their acquiescence. Among those who ascribe this invention to him, there is, however, a difference as to the power with which he first concerted its execution. Thus, Mr Coxe,

Coxe, upon the authority of Count Hertzberg as he says, contends that Austria was the first acceder, and that the whole was arranged at the conferences of Neustadt, when it was agreed that Russia should be gained by holding out the neutrality of Austria in the Turkish war as the price of her accession. Mr Tooke, on the other hand, states, that the scheme was first communicated to Catharine during the visit of Prince Henry to Petersburg, and that their great difficulty was, as to the gaining of Austria. And Mr Wraxall, while he makes Prince Henry, and not Frederic, its original author, gives the same account as Mr Coxe of the objects and arrangements of the conferences at Neustadt.

M. Rulhiere differs from all these writers; and contends, that the first idea of dividing Poland among the neighbouring powers, so far from originating in the cabinet of Frederic, was broached near a century before his time. 'J'ai retrouvé,' says he, 'dans les archives des affaires étrangeres de France, cette anecdote importante, et jusqu'à présent ignorée.* It was during the year 1658, when Sweden was in possession of a considerable part of Poland, —when Austria, alarmed at the progress of the Swedes, came to its assistance,—and when the Duke of Prussia, known by the name of the Grand-Elector, had taken up arms to relieve his dukedom from vassalage to the republic, that Count Stippenbach, the Swedish ambassador, secretly made the extraordinary proposition to each of these powers to unite, and divide among them the kingdom of which they were in possession.† The catastrophe was averted, at that time, by the irreconcileable animosities of the proposed sharers, and the prompt interference of France, who had discovered the dreadful secret of Stippenbach. The proposition, it is said, was again brought forward during the troubles that ensued upon the election of Augustus the Second; who himself offered to agree to it, upon condition of a part being allotted to him, and made hereditary in his family.‡ But Charles and Peter were not at all in a humour to make up their quarrels, even for the spoil of a kingdom; and thus the fate, to which it seems long before to have been doomed, was reserved for the conjunction of more accommodating spoilers.

Thus it appears, that the exposed state of Poland early excited the illicit desires of her neighbours, and that their mutual jealousy and ambition suggested, more than a century before its accomplishment, the idea of a joint possession. But M. Rulhiere further contends, that the partition of 1772 was not first proposed either by Frederic or by his brother; that it was indeed

* Tom. I. p. 9. † Tom. I. p. 60—63.
‡ Tom. I. p. 112—115.

suggested to the former by the latter; but that this was in consequence of the very intelligible hints which dropped from the Empress of Russia, when she met with the Prince at St Petersburg. In support of this averment, he recites two different accounts of conversations in which she started the subject, and which he derived from the Prince's secretaries, Baron Kniphausen, M. Sandos, and M. Cæsar; and he further asserts, that the arrangement of the partition made no part of the conferences, either at Neiss or Neustadt. ‖ Among so many opposite averments, each supporting itself by great authorities, it is not for us to decide. The convenience of the Polish provinces for uniting the discontiguous parts of Frederic's dominions,—his connivance at Catharine's proceedings in Poland,—and the circumstance of that Sovereign being in possession of the whole of that country, and thereby in a condition to think herself making cessions by agreeing to the partition,—are facts which undoubtedly give plausibility to the opinion, that the measures of 1772, whether originating in the mind of Henry or Frederic, were proposed by Prussia, and first adopted by the cabinet of Vienna, rather than that of St Petersburg. With regard to the last point, however, it is but right to observe, that M. Segur says he was assured by Kaunitz, Cobenzel, and Vergennes, that Austria was decidedly adverse to the partition, and did not accede to it till France positively refused to assist her in opposing the other two powers.

The truth is, that it is more matter of curiosity than importance, to ascertain these things with precision. Impartial posterity must ever brand, with equal infamy, the whole parties to a transaction, the most atrocious, and in its effects the most pernicious, that the history of Europe had till then to record. And if it be true, as it undoubtedly is, that it has been brought forward to justify and palliate subsequent, and more fatal devastations—to none more injurious than to the successors of the original violators of the sanctuary of national independence—we may safely say of the history of Poland, what the Bishop of Meaux says of history in general, that though it were useless to all other men, it ought to be diligently perused, and its moral treasured up by princes.

‖ Tom. IV. p. 151, 210, 212.

ART.

ART. IX. *Voyages à Peking, Manille, et l'île de France, faits dans l'Intervalle des Années* 1784 *à* 1801. Par M. de Guignes, Resident de France à la Chine, attaché au Ministere des Relations exterieures, Correspondent de la Première et de la Troisième Classe de l'Institut. 3 tom. 8vo. Avec un Atlas en folio. à Paris. 1808.

IN the small catalogue of rational books which we possess on the subject of China, this deserves to occupy a respectable station. The recent work of Mr Barrow is that with which it is most natural for us to compare it: and, though not in all, yet, in several respects, we are inclined to give it the preference to that judicious publication. The author, from long residence in the country, and from a knowledge of the language, is less new to his subject, and more master of it. He has formed a more accurate estimate than Mr Barrow, of certain important particulars in the political and social state of the Chinese. But his book is not so rich, by any means, in facts. We have the author's own observations on the appearances which struck him; and these are often very good:—but Barrow has more uniformly described to us the various phenomena which presented themselves in the course of his interesting progress. It is true, indeed, and this is what should be remembered in behalf of both, that their opportunities of observing facts, by the restrictions, or rather imprisonment, under which they were held by the pitiful policy of this illiberal and ignorant people, were extremely circumscribed.

The name of De Guignes is intimately associated with that of China in the minds of all those to whom the history of the oriental nations has been an object of attention. The translation of the *Chou-king* by *M. de Guignes*, with his preface and notes, published at Paris in 1770, and the *Histoire des Huns*, drawn from Chinese sources by the same hand, are among the most valuable monuments of Asiatic history which the industry and intelligence of the last century have brought to light. * Our present author is the son of that celebrated orientalist; who, beside the writings which he gave to the public in his lifetime, left behind him

* Mr Gibbon denominates M. de Guignes 'a skilful and laborious interpreter of the Chinese language, who has thus laid open new and important scenes in the history of mankind.' *Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp.* v. iv. *p.* 348. The *Histoire des Huns* is the great guide of Mr Gibbon in tracing the movements of the barbarous nations, which terminated in their inundation upon the civilized countries of Europe.

a variety of manuscripts, which the son is preparing to publish, and of which he has given us a list in the *avant-propos* to the present work. The education which he received from his father may be supposed to have fitted him, in a particular manner, for acting in China; and accordingly he had filled the office of French resident in that country, his principal abode being at Macoa, for the space of ten years previous to the journey of the Dutch embassy to Pekin, after the return of the English ambassador, Lord Macartney, in 1794. M. de Guignes informs us, that, having long desired to penetrate into the interior of China, he eagerly seized the favourable opportunity which now presented itself. To M. Titzing,† the chief of the embassy, who had corresponded on literary subjects with his father, he applied for leave to accompany him: This was readily granted;—and accordingly, in the character of an interpreter in the suite of the Dutch ambassador, he twice traversed the empire of China from Canton to Pekin, going by one road, and returning by another.

For the contents of the three volumes with which he has favoured us, a very short description must suffice. It is not our intention to follow the author in the line of instruction which he pursues, as an observer; but to collect the scattered lights which he and others afford us for illustrating the condition of the Chinese; and, amid the hyperbolical conclusions which it has been so much and so long the fashion to draw respecting the nations of the East, to see what the facts before us can, in the present case, entitle us to support.

The first part of the first volume is a summary view of the antient history of China, not ascending higher than the reign of Yao, 2357 years before Christ; nor descending lower than the 48th year of Ping-vang, the year 722 before Christ. This was by the author deemed useful to precede his description of the present state of China; and it is a document of the very highest value. Some of the important conclusions which it supports are thus presented by the author.

'Je

† M. Titzing had been formerly chief Resident of the Dutch in Japan, and has brought, we are told by De Guignes, precious documents thence, which he means to publish. If these pages should happen to meet his eye, we hope the solicitations we now offer to him will have some effect towards inducing him not to delay his promised gifts. We know so little about Japan,—we have been told so much that is false,—and an enlightened man (which M. Titzing appears to be) who understands the language, and has resided for a competent time in the country, could tell us so much that is true, that we promise ourselves great instruction from his communications.

' Je commence par donner un précis de l'histoire ancienne des Chinois, et je m'arrête à l'epoque où elle prend un caractère plus authentique et plus vrai. La partie, d'ailleurs, de leur histoire que je rapporte me suffit, puisque, etant entièrement dépourvue de faits, extrêmement incertaine, et pour ainsi dire nulle sans les discours moraux qui la remplissent,* elle démontre évidement que, tandis qu'il subsistoit de grandes puissances, que plusieurs royaumes même avoient déja disparu de dessus le globe, l'empire de la Chine n'étoit, *d'après le récit de ces propres historiens*, que fort peu de chose dans ces temps reculés; qu'il n'etoit composé que de quelques hordes peu nombreuses, vivant au milieu de peuples barbares, et se portant souvent d'un lieu à un autre, suivant les circonstances ou les avantages qu'elles pouvoient retirer de semblables emigrations; en un mot, que cet empire, loin d'exister, ainsi qu'on l'a pretendu, 3000 ans avant J. C., n'a été réuni, d'une maniere stable, que depuis 529 ans.—En attaquant cette antiquité accordée par certains auteurs aux Chinois, je ne cherche point à etablir un hypothese nouvelle; ce n'est pas moi qui parle; *je rapporte simplement les discours insérés dans le Chou-king, et j'en tire des consequences à l'appui de mon sentiment.*'

Thus do the 96 or 97 millions of years which some of the Chinese claim for the antiquity of their nation, as well as the four or five thousand which are claimed for it by many Europeans, vanish at once, leaving but little in the shape of a residue behind. As the *Chou-king* is before us in a European dress, and, though this is not the only Chinese authority of which the author avails himself in drawing up his summary, yet, as it is that on which his results chiefly depend, the authenticity of his premises may be verified by every man for his own satisfaction. As for the accuracy of his conclusions, whoever compares them with his premises will be qualified to judge.

For the sake of those who will not take the trouble to explore the subject for themselves, it may be far from useless to corroborate the authority of M. de Guignes by that of one of the most penetrating, judicious, and most deeply informed of all inquirers into antient history, the President Goguet. †

' What dependence,' says he, ' can we place upon the certainty

* For example, you are told that such and such a prince mounted the throne; you are then told a conversation of his, with some mandarin or doctor, on some vague and common-place topics of morals or government; and this, or something like it, is very often the whole history of the reign.

† The Origin of Laws, &c. vol. III. p. 285. We quote the English translation, because it is one of the best in existence, and because we wish to tell, what is not generally known, that it came from the pen of the venerable historian of Great Britain, Dr Henry. It was the work of one of his early years.

of Chinese chronology for the early times, when we see these people unanimously avow, that one of their greatest monarchs, interested in the destruction of the antient traditions, and of those who preserved them, caused all the books which did not treat of agriculture, or of medicine, or of divination, to be burnt; and applied himself for many years to destroy whatever could recal the knowledge of the times anterior to his reign. About forty years after his death, they wanted to reestablish the historical documents. For that purpose, they gathered together, say they, the hearsays of old men. They discovered, it is added, some fragments of books which had escaped the general conflagration. They joined these various scraps together as they could, and vainly endeavoured to compose of them a regular history. It was not, however, till more than 150 years after the destruction of all the monuments, that is to say, the year 37 before Christ, that a complete body of the antient history appeared. The author himself who composed it, *Sse-Ma-tsiene*, had the candour to own, that he had not found it possible to ascend with certainty 800 years beyond the times in which he wrote. Such is the unanimous confession of the Chinese.* I leave to be judged, after such a fact, the certainty of their ancient history. Accordingly we find, in treating of it, insurmountable difficulties and contradictions. There runs through it an uncertainty, like that which the chronologists find in their researches into the history of the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and in that of the first kings of Greece. Besides, it is equally destitute of facts, circumstances and details.'

The dynasty of *Tcheou*, the third in order from the beginning, mounted the throne in the year 1122 before J. C. The first sovereign of this race was *Ven-vang*. The state of China at that time, as represented by the native historians, is thus expressed by our author.

'Ven-vang et son fils Vou-vang régnoient dans les environs de l'endroit ou est à present *Sy gan-fou* dans le *Chen-sy*, et n'occupoient pas un pays fort étendu, la plus grande partie de cette province étant possédée par des barbares. En general, ce qu'on appelle ville n'en étoit point; les bourgs ou villages même étoient rares; il y avoit quantité de grands pays incultes, qui ne furent defrichés que depuis. La Chine, proprement, n'a été remplie de villes que beaucoup plus tard, et ces sont les Ttsin et les Han, qui, dans la suite, en ont le plus fait construire, pour maintenir les barbares qu'ils soumettoient.'

In the seventh year of the successor of Vou-vang, whose name was *Tching-vang*, our author says—

'Ce

* The story is probably nothing but a fable, invented when they began to plume themselves with a high antiquity, as an apology for their total want of annals to support such a pretension. But, however this may be, the proof is equally complete, that no documents of antient history exist.

' Ce prince quitta Tcheou et alla à Fong. Le *Tay-pao* etoit parti avant lui, pour examiner l'endroit que l'on avoit choisi pour habiter. Tcheou-Kong consulta les oracles, qui repondirent que cet endroit etoit le milieu du monde.—Après une pareille decision, on traça le plan de la nouvelle ville sur le bord du fleuve *Lo*, ou employa les peuples de Yu aux travaux, et en cinq jours la ville fut achevée. *Tcheou-Kong*, après en avoir fait le tour et tout examiné, sacrifia sur un autel des boeufs, et sur un autre, le lendemain, un boeuf, une brebis et un cochon. C'est ainsi qu'on rapporte la construction de cette ville, qui n'etoit tout au plus qu'un hameau, ou un simple campement; ce qui diminue beaucoup de cette puissance et de cette richesse accordées aux Chinois existant alors, et n'en fait plus qu'un peuple errant et se transportant, suivant les circonstances, d'un lieu à un autre. Or, si l'an 1109 avant J. C. l'etat de la nation Chinoise etoit tel que ce qu'on vient de rapporter donne lieu de le penser, on croira difficilement à cet état florissant que certains auteurs veulent lui supposer sous les regnes des anciens empereurs, c'est-a-dire 1200 ans plutôt.'

The progress of the history makes it appear that at this time, and for long after, the Chinese were not united into one nation, but consisted of several communities; and the author concludes his historical sketch with the following observation.

' D'après cet exposé, on pourra juger de l'etat de la nation Chinoise depuis les premiers temps jusqu'a l'epoque de l'an 722 avant J. C. On verra que des quinze provinces de la Chine, dix etoient occupées par des barbares qui n'avoient jamais été soumis, et que de cinq autres une tres grande partie etoit encore possedée par d'autres barbares vivant en nomades, au milieu desquels il y avoit quelques villages ou habitations, avec des terreins cultivés qu'on qualifie du titre des royaumes; enfin, on se convaincra que ce n'etoit point un peuple immense formant un empire riche et puissant, mais un peuple composé de differentes hordes errantes et se transportant d'un lieu à un autre, suivant les circonstances.'

Such are the conclusions respecting the state of the Chinese, at a period comparatively modern, to which we are brought by a critical examination of their own documents, after the lofty descriptions of a civilization of boundless antiquity, which credulity, and the love of the marvellous, have so long rendered current in Europe. *

* Voltaire is absolutely furious against all who venture to doubt this antiquity. ' Oserons nous parler des Chinois, sans nous en rapporter à leurs propres annales? ---- Il est evident que l'empire de la Chine étoit formé il y a plus de quatre mille ans. ---- Si quelques annales portent un caractere de certitude, ce sont celles de Chinois. ---- L'empire Chinois subsistait avec splendeur, quand les Chaldiens commençaient

The work before us, exclusive of this historical document, consists of a journal of the route from Canton to Pekin, and back again, which occupies the latter part of the first volume, and the beginning of the second;—of the author's observations on the country and people, classed under separate titles; as, 'Manners, Customs, Religion, Language, Arts, Government, Population, Revenue,' &c. filling up the principal part of the second and third volumes;—and lastly, of a short account of the Philippine Islands, and the Isle of France, which the author visited in the course of his peregrinations. This occupies a few pages toward the end of the third volume.

Upon the whole, the helps furnished by M. de Guignes, for attaining accurate notions respecting the state of civilization among the Chinese, are by no means unimportant. The inquiry itself is one which should, long ago, have been prosecuted in this country with more diligence, and with more judgment, than have hitherto been allotted to it. The nation which, above all others, maintains the greatest intercourse with China; the nation which, above all, has the greatest interests dependent on that intercourse; the nation which has had so many of her sons living for so many years on Chinese ground, was under the necessity of going to Naples for an interpreter, when she thought of sending an embassy to China; and in selecting the presents intended to display at once her grandeur and her friendship, sent such things as the people were too rude to value, and which they threw aside as little better than lumber.

If the gentlemen at Canton are not permitted to explore the country, there are books among the Chinese; these may be easily had for money; and people are to be found who would teach to read them. If learning to read them would be a difficult task, rewards could be given that would be proportional. It is now, however, known, and, if there were no other proof, the experience of Sir George Staunton's son, a boy, who made a considerable proficiency both in reading and writing Chinese, only during his passage from England to China, would be sufficient, that the difficulty of learning Chinese is by no means so great, as, among other fancied prodigies, was once believed. There is a book of Chinese laws now in England; a book from which conclusions so decisive could be drawn. But, where is the Englishman that can interpret it? How many other books might, by the advantage of the English intercourse, be obtained, which would enable us to ascertain beyond controversy every point in the

commençaient le cours de ces dix-neuf cents années d'observations astronomiques, envoyées en Grece par Callisthene. *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations. Introduction, Article* Chine.

the state of China which it would interest us to know? Why have they never been procured? Why has it not been made a point to have Englishmen acquainted with the language of China? It has been learned by Portuguese, by Italians, by Frenchmen. Of the great number of Englishmen who have gone to Hindustan, a few meritorious individuals have, without the smallest encouragement from Government, made themselves acquainted with the languages of that country, and communicated to us the most satisfactory documents. Of the small number who are sent to China, no one has yet done any thing; nor, from the nature of their situation, is any thing to be expected from them, till they receive that encouragement which a wise and liberal government ought long ago to have afforded.

It is to be lamented that philosophers have not as yet laid down any very distinct canons for ascertaining the principal stages of civilization. The ideas of the greatest part of mankind on the subject, are therefore vague in the extreme. All they do is, to fix on one or two of the principal nations of Europe as at the highest point of civilization; and wherever, in any country, a few of the first appearances strike them as bearing a resemblance to some of the most obvious appearances in these standards of comparison, such countries are at once held to be civilized; and if the fashion is but fairly and fully set in such a mode of thinking and talking, the current is not easily stopped. Crowded streets, and a bustle of people, seem to have been generally regarded as circumstances, the evidence of which must be decisive.

In these conclusions, *distance* appears to have been an agent of great potency; and the title to civilization has always been admitted on slighter grounds to those who were farthest removed from us. The Turks, for example, we have always denominated barbarians. The Hindus and Chinese we have regarded as civilized; and for that civilization, many among us have contended, and do contend, with a spirit little less intolerant than if it were their religion itself. A critical examination of the state of these people demonstrates, that, in every particular which can be regarded as a mark, or as a result of civilization, the Turks are their superiors.

The information we now have concerning China, however defective in marking the particular aspect which, among them, a particular stage of civilization exhibits, is yet abundantly sufficient to prove, that they are in the very infancy, or very little advanced beyond the infancy, of fixed, or agricultural society. It is not possible for a people, deriving their subsistence from the cultivation of the soil, and spread over a very considerable extent of country, to be held together by means less artificial, and less favourable to human

human happineſs, than the Chineſe are. Their government is a deſpotiſm in the very ſimpleſt and rudeſt form. All power lodged in the hands of the monarch; all adminiſtered by mercenary agents, holding immediately of him, and removeable only at his pleaſure. No checks, no controuls, no remedy for abuſe, but through the emperor; and all acceſs to him ſhut up by intrigue, and by power. The practical buſineſs of government, through all its organs, is to plunder the people, and deceive the ſovereign. Mercenarineſs, therefore, and intrigue, have grown to an exceſs in China, that was never exhibited any where elſe on the face of the earth. * Mendacity, the principal inſtrument of intrigue, has accordingly become the national character, to a degree beyond that of any other people that ever exiſted. †

'Ceux qui auroient quelques plaintes à faire,' says our author, (V. II. p. 435), 'n'ont pas la faculté de s'adresser à l'empereur, mais seulement aux miniſtres ou aux officiers principaux de la chambre; or, tous ces personages étant liés d'interêt, aucune requête ne parvient, et les plaignans ne peuvent réussir à obtenir la moindre justice.'

The Emperor sends inspectors into the provinces, to see if the mandarins do their duty.—

'Aussitôt qu'ils arrivent, tous les mandarins s'empressent d'aller au devant de leurs desirs, et de leur offrir des presens; et comment les refuseroient-ils, puisque l'Empereur lui-même en reçoit de très-considerables. L'amour des presens a toujours existé à la Chine. Une change de gouverneur de ville coûte plusieurs miliers d'ecus, et quelquefois de vingt à trente mille. Un vice-roi, avant d'etre en possession de sa place, paie de soixante à deux cent mille francs; il n'y a pas de visiteur ou de vice-roi, qui ne se retire avec deux ou trois millions. J'ai vu moi-même un Hopou de Quanton quitter sa place, *après*

* See a remarkable instance of the power and mischievousness of this intrigue, in Han-Kiou-Choaan, or Pleasing History, (Vol. III. p. 115.); for which, in an English dress, we are indebted, first to the Portuguese interpreter, and next to a late eminent prelate of our own church. This document affords many striking indications of the wretched state of government in China.

† For this remarkable feature of the Chinese character, the evidence may be cited of almost all travellers, particularly the latest and most intelligent, Barrow, Staunton, De Guignes. Poor M. Vanbraam's complaints of the lies of the mandarins, whom they could not, he says, believe in one word they said, are incessant and amusing; as he struggles all the while to think highly of the Chinese civilization. See, passim, *Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en* 1794 & 1795. —'The most respectable characters, Van-ta-gin, Chou-ta-gin, make no scruple to tell lies.' *Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney*, Vol. II. p. 209.

après un an de residence, important avec lui un million de piastres (5,400,000 liv.)' *Ibid.* p. 484.

'Certains auteurs ont regardé le gouvernement Chinois comme parfait.—J'ai vecu long-tems à la Chine; j'ai traversé ce vaste empire dans toute sa longueur; j'ai vu partout le fort opprimer le foible, et tout homme ayant en partage une portion d'autorité, s'en servir pour vexer, molester et ecraser le peuple.—Les mandarins des villes cherchoent à s'emparer d'une partie du salaire dû à nos coulis et à nos porteurs; ils les frappoient même lorsqu'ils vouloient se plaindre. Un de nos petits mandarins ne rougit pas de prendre une somme de vingt mille francs qui devoit être distribuée à nos domestiques Chinois.' *Ibid.* p. 438, 439.

'There is,' says Mr Barrow,* 'no middle class of men in China. In fact, there are no other than the governors and the governed. If a man, by trade, or industry in his profession, has accumulated riches, he can enjoy them only in private. He dares not, by having a grander house, or finer clothes, to let his neighbour perceive that he is richer than himself, lest he should betray him to the commanding officer of the district, who would find no difficulty in bringing him within the pale of the sumptuary laws, and in laying his property under confiscation.' In another passage,† he observes,—'that a general character of rapacity, of an aim to make himself master of the property of another, by cheating, or thieving, or robbery, or the abuse of authority, distinguishes a Chinese, whenever he can do it with impunity.'

But observe the stability, say many people, of the Chinese government. Consider how long the state of China has been immoveable; and say if this be not a proof of excellent government? 'Le vaste empire de la Chine,' says Voltaire,‡ 'le plus ancien du monde, et le mieux policé sans doute, puisqu'il a été le plus durable.' Were the fact, however, as it is assumed, this immobility in the state of society, so far, we apprehend, from being a proof of high civilization, would be a proof of the very reverse: so gratuitous are the conclusions to which people have trusted on this subject! Dr Johnson has observed, with philosophical sagacity,‖ that 'the language most likely to continue long without alteration, would be that of a nation raised a little, and *but a little*, above barbarity, secluded from strangers, and totally employed in procuring the conveniences of life; either without books, or, like some of the Mahometan countries, with very few. Men thus busied and unlearned, having only such words as common use requires, would perhaps long continue to express the same notions by the same signs. But no such constancy can be expected

* Travels in China, p. 389. † *Ibid.* p. 179.
‡ Remarques de l'Essai sur les Mœurs, Prim. Rem.
‖ In the Preface to the English Dictionary.

ed in a people polished by arts, and classed by subordination; where one part of the community is sustained and accommodated by the labour of the other. Those who have much leisure to think, will always be increasing the stock of ideas; and every increase of knowledge, whether real or fancied, will produce new words, or combinations of words. When the mind is unchained from necessity, it will range after convenience; when it is left at large in the fields of speculation, it will shift opinions: as any custom is disused, the words that expressed it must perish with it; as any opinion grows popular, it will innovate speech in the same proportion as it alters practice.' It is evident, that if these arguments are conclusive with regard to speech, they are no less conclusive with regard to all the great particulars in the social condition of man. It was the opinion of Mr Gibbon, that wherever the manners of a people have been long stationary, they are in that very low state of civilization in which instinct has more influence than reason. 'The operation of instinct,' says he,* 'is more sure and simple than that of reason: it is much easier to ascertain the appetites of a quadruped, than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other. *The uniform stability of their manners is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their faculties.*'

The population of China is the next great object of admiration. Surely a country so very populous must be highly civilized. We have two remarks to make on this subject; 1st, that a great population is no certain proof, either of a good government, or of high civilization; and, 2d, that the population of China is not, as we think is now apparent, any thing very remarkable.

It is no law of human nature, that population shall regularly follow civilization and good government. It is very possible for affairs to take such a turn, in a rude state of society, and under a very bad government, as to be more favourable to the increase of numbers, than under a state of much greater improvement. The population of *Ireland*, for example, has, of late years, been increasing faster, much faster, than the population of England; but nobody will say, that the people of Ireland, are either better governed, or more civilized, than the people of England. There are various circumstances in the situation of China, the operation of which, be the state of society what it may, must have been favourable to multiplication. The superstition of the people, which makes them deem it unhappy to die without posterity, produces early and universal marriage. For many ages the country has been

* History of the Decline and Fall, &c. vol. IV. p. 341.

been free from the ravages of war. The people of the East are remarkable for eating little, often sustaining nature with the merest pittance of rice. The land, being all of it the Emperor's, is not divided into large estates among the great lords, but into small portions among the cultivators. Almost every thing in China being done by human labour, and there being scarcely any beasts of burthen, and but few reared for the table, a greater proportion (the whole with very little deduction) of the produce of the soil, goes immediately, in China, to the maintenance of human beings, than in any other country.

In the next place, the statements which the Chinese themselves give of their population, are worthy of no manner of regard; and the observations which have been recently made by the intelligent persons who accompanied the English and Dutch embassies, in their progress from one end of the country to the other, are far from giving us reason to suppose that the population of the empire of China, compared with its bulk, is very remarkable. M. de Guignes, in the present work, has given us, on this head, some valuable instruction. He gives us, in the first place, an important Table, which we shall transcribe, presenting the statements which have been given at three different times, *from the information of the Chinese themselves*, of the population of all the provinces of their empire;—in 1743 by the Missionaries,—in 1761 by Father Allerstein,—and in 1794 by the English.

Names of the Provinces.	*Population of China according to*		
	The Missionaries in 1743.	*F. Allerstein in* 1761.	*The English in* 1794.
Petchely	16,702,765	15,222,940	38,000,000
Kiang-nan	26,766,365	45,922,420	32,000,000
Kiang-si	6,681,350	11,006,640	19,000,000
Tchekiang	15,623,990	15,429,690	21,000,000
Fokien	7,643,035	8,068,671	15,000,000
Hou-kouang	4,264,850	16,909,923	27,000,000
Honan	12,637,280	16,332,507	25,000,000
Chan-tong	12,159,680	25,180,734	24,000,000
Chan-sy	8,969,475	9,768,189	27,000,000
Chen-sy	14,804,035	14,699,475	30,000,000
Setchuen	15,181,710	2,782,976	27,000,000
Quang-tong	6,006,600	6,797,597	21,000,000
Quang-sy	1,143,450	3,947,414	10,000,000
Yunnan	1,189,825	2,078,802	8,000,000
Koey-tcheou	255,445	3,402,722	9,000,000
Leustong	235,620	668,852	10,000,000
	150,265,475	198,214,552	333,000,000

The

Now, to say nothing of the incredible increase in a country confessedly stationary as to every kind of improvement, the slightest inspection of this table is sufficient to convince any body, that these different statements are totally contradictory, and inconsistent one with another; that they have been made, in short, without the smallest reference to the fact; and that, in reality, they prove nothing but the disposition of the Chinese to exaggerate and misrepresent. Observe, for example, the very first province, Petchely. In the first period, 18 years, from 1743 to 1761, the population declined; in the next 33 years, it increased *to more than double*. The next province, Kiang-nan, in the first period nearly doubled its population; in the second period, its population declined. Hou-kouang, in the first 18 years, increased its population nearly fourfold. In Setchuen, in the period of 18 years, the population sunk from fifteen millions to two millions,—a pretty rapid decline; but in the next period of 33 years, there was as rapid an increase; it rose from two millions to *twenty-seven millions*. It ought always to be remembered, that the Chinese, from their poverty, their superstitions, and their agricultural occupations, are of all nations the least given to migrate from one province to another.

Mr Barrow tells us, * 'the Chinese government is much given to exaggeration in all matters relating to the aggrandizement of the country, and to deal liberally in hyperboles, wherever numbers are concerned.' In fact, the people of Europe can hardly form a conception of the extent to which the principle of exaggeration carries almost all the Eastern nations. Witness, for one instance, the millions of years' duration they ascribe to themselves.

M. de Guignes says, respecting this same subject of population—

'J'ai consulté moi-même les Chinois; mais les ayant trouvés *tous en contradiction les uns avec les autres*, j'ai jugé qu'il n'étoit pas prudent de les croire sur parole; car nul peuple au monde n'est plus disposé à exaggerer tout ce qui regarde sa nation. Ils se font peu de scrupule de tromper un etranger, d'autant plus que leur vanité se trouve recompensée par l'importance qu'ils croient se donner à eux-mêmes en augmentant la force et la puissance de leur pays.'

M. de Guignes makes us acquainted with another reason for exaggeration, even in the official statements.

'La verité' says he 'est, que ces etats sont inexacts, et que si la population y est representée comme toujours croissante, cela provient de l'interêt que les Mandarins ont à faire croire que leurs provinces s'ameliorent, parceque *ce seroit deplaire à l'empereur, et nuire à leur avancement, que de lui montrer une diminution quelconque.*'

If we consider that the Mandarins are in general changed every two or three years, and that each has an interest in representing the

* Travels in China, p. 405.

the population as having increased during his administration, we shall discover a principle of pretty rapid progression.

The excess to which these conscientious governors go in their misrepresentations to the emperor, far surpasses all ordinary belief.

'Le *Tsong-tou* de Quanton,' says our author, 'fit faire, en 1794, des galères, pour poursuivre les pirates qui infestoient les côtes; il ecrivit à Peking que tout étoit prêt. L'empereur repondit: "Votre predecesseur m'a dit qu'il n'y avoit plus de pirates, les frais de l'armement seront pour votre compte." Qu'arriva-t-il? les galères resterent là; le *Tsong-tou* paya ce qu'il volut, et les pirates existent encore. Le fait est, que le vice-roi précédent avoit fait réellement armer des galères; mais les mandarins, au lieu d'aller attaquer les voleurs, préférèrent de faire le commerce d'opium, et ecrivirent à leur retour que tout étoit fini. J'ai vu moi-même une quarantaine de têtes, soi-disant de pirates, envoyées d'Haynan; ce devoit être là une preuve bien evidente de l'expedition: point du tout; la plupart de ces têtes appartenoient à des cadavres qu'on avoit deterrés. Passons à un autre fait.—Le *Tsong-tou* de Quanton est chargé d'aller au Tonquin pour en retablir le prince detrôné; il est surpris par les troupes du rebelle; les Chinois sont taillés en pieces, et le vice-roi se sauve avec peine. Ecrire à l'empereur qu'il a été battu, c'etoit exposer sa tête. Que fait-il? Il mande à Peking qu'il a transigé avec le rebelle, qu'il l'a proclamé roi, et que celui-ci se rend lui-meme à la cour pour obtenir l'agrément de l'empereur. Ce simulacre de roi fut reçu par toute la Chine avec les honneurs dues à un souverain, tandis qu'il n'etoit qu'un tres petit officier du vainqueur, et que, retourné dans son pays, il rentra dans ses fonctions.'

From all his inquiries, and from all that he saw, M. de Guignes is convinced 'que la population de la Chine ne peut exceder celle des autres pays.'—'Dans notre route' says he 'pour nous rendre à Peking, en remontant la rivière depuis Quantong jusqu'à Nanhiang-fou, derniere ville de la province, nous n'avons rencontré dans cet espace, qui est de cent cinq lieues, que cinq villes, eloignées les unes des autres de dix-sept, dix-neuf, vingt-quatre, et vingt-huit lieues. La population dans les campagnes etoit très-ordinaire; elle nous a paru un peu plus forte dans les villes; mais la circonstance de notre passage avoit amené du monde sur la route; et lorsqu'à notre retour nous avons visité à notre aise les mêmes lieux, les habitans ne se sont pas montrés plus nombreux que par-tout ailleurs.'

The whole of the route to Pekin exhibited, in respect of population, an appearance exactly similar. On their return, they were conducted by another road, part of which very much resembled what they had seen on their journey to the capital. However, 'parvenus,' says our author, 'dans la partie orientale du Kiang-nan, portion la meilleure de la Chine, et que les Chinois montrent de preference

preference aux étrangers, nous trouvames dans les environs de la digue qui est elevée le long du fleuve Jaune, des bourgs qui nous parurent tres-peuplés: c'est d'après cette population que les Anglois ont jugé, et c'est ce qui les a induit en erreur.—En passant par les mêmes lieux que ces voyageurs, j'aurois pu croire comme eux que le nombre des habitans étoit tres-considerable; mais j'ai reconnu que je me serois trompé si je m'en etois rapporté à un premier coup-d'œil. L'avantage que nous avions de partir suivant notre volonté, nous a mis à même de verifier que cette population n'appartenoit pas toute entiere aux endroits ou nous nous trouvions, mais qu'une bonne partie y etoit venue des lieux circonvoisins. Ces bourgs si peuplés lors de notre arrivée, n'offroient presque qu'un desert au moment ou nous partions, et nous appercevions dans la campagne des bandes nombreuses d'habitans qui s'en retournoient dans leurs villages.'

With the exception of this district, no place exhibited the marks of a great population; and M. de Guignes is convinced, that China, upon the whole, is not wonderfully peopled.

The exaggerated statements of the Chinese, may easily be paralleled by statements respecting other nations confessedly in a very early stage of civilization. 'We find from sacred writ,' says Mr Wallace,* 'that the fighting men (in Palestine), exclusive of the two tribes of Levi and Benjamin, were 1,570,000. And if we take the proportions of these two to the other ten tribes, from their enrolments which are marked in another passage, we must add more than 121,000: the whole number of fighting men amounting, by this account, to 1,691,000; and the quadruple of this last sum, or the whole number of inhabitants, to 6,764,000.' According to Major Rennel,† the number of square miles in Palestine hardly exceed 7,250. Its population, therefore, must have exceeded 900 to the square mile; whereas the population of China, even according to the hyperbolical statement communicated to Mr Barrow, yields, in the most populous province, only 644 to the square mile; and the average of the whole is but 256. Major Rennel, indeed, disbelieves the statement drawn from the Old Testament respecting Palestine. But it is, at any rate, as much to be depended upon as the statements of the Chinese. Nor is there any thing in it, as he seems to imagine, absolutely incredible. The population of Barbadoes, by no means the most fertile spot in the world, is denser still; and if we recollect the extraordinary motives which, from his religion and laws, every Hebrew had to confine himself within the narrow limits of the Holy

* Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 51.

† Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 401.

Holy Land, we can hardly doubt that, during the prosperous times of that people, the territory must have become exceedingly crowded.

Cicero tells us, that, in his time, the Spaniards were reckoned more numerous than the Romans. 'Quam volumus licet, P. S. nos amemus,' says he,‡ 'tamen *nec numero Hispanos*, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, &c. *superavimus*.' We are told, that, in the time of Cæsar, the population of Spain, that is, of the whole peninsula, was 50,000,000,§ which, reckoning the peninsula, according to Boetticher's tables, at 173,928 square miles, produces about 290 inhabitants to the square mile. 'According to the book of Jonah,' says Mr Wallace,‖ 'there were 120,000 children in Nineveh, who could not discern between their right hand and their left.' Now, computing according to the proportion which is, from the most accurate observations, found to be consistent with truth, and reckoning such as were too young to discern between their right hand and their left, to be all those who were below two years of age complete, the inhabitants of Nineveh were 2,200,000.' Ptolemy, king of Egypt, is celebrated by Theocritus as reigning over 33,339 cities.* Diodorus relates, (see Wallace, p. 36.), that Ninus led an army into Bactria of 1,700,000, and 210,000, and wanted only a few of 10,600 chariots;—that the king of Bactria met him with an army of 400,000 men;—that Semiramis assembled 2,000,000 of men to build Babylon;—that she carried an army into India of 3,000,000 of foot, 500,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men mounted on camels. If it be asked, whether we believe all these extraordinary statements; we readily answer, fully as much as we believe those of the Chinese. Those who believe them the least, ought to be the most prepared to allow, that such enumerations, from the lips of the Chinese—of all nations the very last to be believed upon its word—afford little proof of any conformity between the fact and the assertion.

‡ De Haruspicum responsis.

§ See *Osorio y Redin*, and the authorities he quotes, in his work on 'The End of the Seventeenth Century.' The same author calculates, that Spain could raise corn sufficient to maintain a population of seventy-eight millions; and asserts, that, at one time, it actually did possess as many inhabitants. See, too, the curious work of Cadalso, under the title and borrowed name of, *Los Eruditos a la Violeta, por Don Joseph Vasques*. The statements of 50,000,000 in the time of the Romans, and of 68,000,000 before their invasions, are given by Foronda, in the note, p. 94. of his translation into Spanish, of *Institutions Politiques du Baron de Bielfield*.

‖ *Ut supra*, p. 324. * Idyll. 17.

The state of the arts among the Chinese is the next thing to which we shall attend; including, for the present, in one term, both the useful arts and the fine. The Chinese, it is said, have carried the arts to great perfection; and hence it follows, that they must have great knowledge and civilization.

The first of all the arts is agriculture; and in this the Chinese have been celebrated as having made remarkable progress. Partial observation, and a few deceitful appearances, have served to produce this opinion. Mr Barrow, on the other hand, expressly informs us, that 'two thirds of the small quantity of land under tillage is cultivated with the spade or the hoe, without the aid of draught cattle.' * The evidence of this single fact is decisive; and Mr Barrow most satisfactorily accounts for the mistakes into which so many observers have fallen. The peasants, he says, are almost all crowded into towns and villages, for fear of robbers; and this is the cause of the appearance of extraordinary cultivation in their vicinity. The lands at a distance are apt to be plundered; they are therefore in a great measure waste. The bands of robbers, he adds, are so powerful, as to threaten the cities. Another reason for the accumulation of the peasants in such places, is the accommodation of manure; for as the poor cultivators have hardly any beasts of burden, they are unable to carry it to a distance. † The distribution too of the land, of which the emperor is sole proprietor, among the cultivators, in such portions to each as are reckoned just sufficient to maintain a family, necessarily produces, wherever the cultivators find it for their interest to crowd as closely to one another as they can, an uninterrupted scene of cultivation, whatever may be the state of their progress in regard to the art. Mr Barrow accordingly tells us, that nine tenths of the peasantry may be considered as cottagers, each renting just as much land as supports his family; and he assures us, that their agriculture is not efficient,—though they often make a bit of ground, as a garden, produce a great deal. ‡ The Chinese plough is the most rude and inefficient instrument that can well be imagined; ‖ and M. de Guignes informs us, that 'les Chinois, en general, labourent peu profondément; la charrue n'entre guerre au-dela de quatre à cinq pouces dans les terres où l'on sème le riz, et, d'après ce que j'ai vu, elle entre encore moins dans les terres legeres et presque cendreuses des provinces septentrionales.'

* Barrow's China, p. 585. † Ibid. p. 570. ‡ Ibid. p. 567.

‖ See Lord Macartney's Description; Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney, vol. ii. p. 357.; and the description of our author, vol. iii. p. 328. of the present work.

les.' * The appearance of the people, in the very best cultivated parts of the country, Mr Barrow assures us, is wretched. † In some places, their circumstances appear a little better; ‡ but, in general, and especially in the neighbourhood of the capital, the inhabitants are squalid, and the country poor. A large portion of it consists of wet swampy ground, the alluvions of rivers, which might easily be redeemed, but, for which, the Chinese have not the skill. §

But the Chinese, we are told, cultivate to the tops of the mountains, forming the ground into platforms all the way up. M. Vanbraam is quite in ecstacy upon perceiving this. 'Durant la plus grande partie de cette journée,' says he, 'nous avons traversé des montagnes, où le plus petit point fertile est cultivé. L'œil d'un Européen est ravi en considerant l'application industrieuse du Chinois qui, comptant pour rien les difficultés, fait des montagnes elles-mêmes des terreins fertiles, et change leur surface inclinée, en un sol plane, par le moyen de terrasses de quatre ou cinq pieds d'élevation, placées par degrés, depuis le haut de la pente, jusqu'au fond de la vallée de manière que la vue est enchantée.' ‖ Our author tells us, however, that M. Vanbraam was 'un peu enthousiaste.'—'M. Vanbraam,' says he, 'nous dit que ces jardins etoient très-beaux; mais comme il etoit *un peu enthousiaste*, et que ce qui nous avoit vanté précédement, s'etoit souvent trouvé fort peu de chose lorsque nous avions été à porté de le voir, nous crûmes pouvoir douter de la beauté de ces jardins.' ¶ M. Vanbraam's admiration would probably not have gone so high, had he known that, in this respect, even the Peruvians of America were as wonderful as the Chinese. 'After they had made a provision of water,' says Garcilasso de la Vega, 'the next thing was to dress, and cultivate, and clear their fields of bushes and trees; and, that they might with most advantage reserve the water, they made them in a quadrangular form: those lands which were good on the sides of hills, they levelled by certain alleys or walks, which they made, as is to be seen in Cozco, and all over Peru, unto this day. To make these alleys, they raise three walls of freezed stone, one before, and one of each side, somewhat inclining inwards, (as are all the walks they make), so that they may more securely bear and keep up the weight of the earth, which is pressed and rammed down by them, until it be raised to the height of the wall: then, next to this walk,

* Vol. iii. p. 327. † Barrow's China, p. 531.
‡ Bar. Chin. p. 538. § Ibid. pp. 70, 83, 208, 533.
‖ Voyage en Chine de l'Ambassade Hollandaise, vol. i. p. 108.
¶ Vol. i. p. 427.

they made another ſomething ſhorter and leſs, kept up in the ſame manner with its wall, until at length they came to take in the whole hill, levelling it by degrees in fashion of a ladder, one alley above the other: where the ground was ſtony, they gathered up the ſtones, and covered the barren ſoil with freſh earth to make their levels, that ſo no part of the ground might be loſt.'*

But this practice, wonderful or not wonderful, is very rare in China; Mr Barrow only obſerved it in two or three instances; and 'Il ne faut pas croire,' ſays our author, 'que toutes les montagnes de la Chine ſoient cultivées depuis le haut juſqu'au bas. Si l'on trouve des collines coupées en terraſſes et deſtinées à l'agriculture, cela n'eſt pas general.—J'ai traverſé dans differentes provinces des diſtricts remplis de montagnes, et dont aucune portion n'étoit miſe en culture.'

Mr Barrow tells us that the Chineſe have the moſt limited uſe of machinery; and that all their machines are of the moſt rude and ſimple kind.† This is a characteriſtic circumſtance. In the more common, and uſeful arts, it is much more by the ingenuity and the abridgment of the labour, than by the perfection of the commodity, that one ſtate of ſociety is diſtinguiſhed from another. The art of weaving, for example, has often attained its higheſt perfection, among a people in a very rude ſtate of ſociety. The progreſs of art is ſhown in multiplying the quantity which, by the ingenious combinations of the mechanical and other powers, a given portion of labour can produce.

There is not one of the arts in China in a ſtate which indicates a ſtage of civilization beyond the infancy of agricultural ſociety. Their naval architecture, Mr Barrow informs us, is ſhocking; and their ſkill in navigation exactly correſpondent. They keep no reckoning at ſea, nor poſſeſs the leaſt idea of drawing imaginary lines upon the ſurface of the globe, by the help of which the poſition of any particular ſpot may be aſſigned. When a ſhip leaves a port on a foreign voyage, it is conſidered an equal chance that ſhe will ever return.‡

The art of pottery, among the Chineſe, is one of the moſt remarkable. But this is a very ſimple one, and in fact invented by ſome of the rudeſt people. They are underſtood to have an earth poſſeſſing certain peculiar virtues in regard to this manufacture; and Mr Barrow informs us, that the merit of their porcelain is owing to no ingenuity they display in the making of

* The Royal Commentaries of Peru, written originally in Spanish by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, and rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut. Part i. B. v. ch. 1. v. iii. p. 322.

† Barrow's China, p. 311. ‡ *Ibid.* pp. 37, 38, 41.

of it, but to the prodigious care with which they select the very finest materials, and separate them from all impurities. † A very remarkable proof of their want of ingenuity is, that they should have been in possession so long of an art so analogous to that of making glass, and yet should never have been able to invent that beautiful and useful manufacture. ‡ Their want of taste, in the shapes and ornaments of their vessels, is now proverbial.

That sure mark of a rude state of the arts, the unsettled state of artisans, who work, not in their own houses, but repair, for each job, to the house of the man who employs them, is universally to be met with in China. §

In regard to all the arts of taste, without one exception, unless the art of embellished gardening be one, the Chinese are, by all persons, allowed to be in a state of barbarism. 'Their architecture,' says Mr Barrow, 'is void of taste, grandeur, beauty, solidity, or convenience; and there is nothing magnificent, even in the palace of their Emperor. ‖ In another passage, ¶ he describes the extreme want of convenience, and of useful furniture in their houses:—many a British peasant is more comfortably lodged, by far, than the Emperor of China.

They are fond of theatrical entertainments; but these are excessively rude. * 'That there is a littleness and poverty of genius,' says the translator of the Han-Kiou-Choaan, †† 'in almost all the works of taste of the Chinese, must be acknowledged by capable judges.'—'Quoique les Chinois,' says M. Le Gentil, ‡‡ 'ayent une passion extraordinaire pour tous les ouvrages de peinture, et que leurs temples en soient ornéz, on ne peut rien voir neanmoins de plus borné et de moins regulier. Ils ne savent point menager les ombres d'un tableau, ni meler ou adoucir les couleurs. . . . Ils ne sont pas plus heureux dans la sculpture, et ils n'y observent ni ordre ni proportion.' The same is the state of painting among the Hindus and the antient Mexicans. The colours, in the American paintings, Robertson informs us, are remarkably bright, but laid on without regard to light or shade. §§

However defective the Chinese may be in all works of ingenuity and invention, they are extremely dexterous imitators. This

† Barrow's China, p. 304.

‡ See Barrow. *Ibid.* p. 305; and Bell of Antermony, Travels, v. II. p. 33.

§ See our author, v. II. p. 169, and v. III. p. 49.

‖ Travels in China, pp. 101, 330. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 194.

* *Ibid.* pp. 202, 207, 218, 609; and Mr Vanbraam himself, Voyage de l'Ambassade Hol. v. I. 233. †† Preface, p. xii.

‡‡ Nouv. Voyage, t. ii. p. 111. §§ Hist. of Amer. v. iii. p. 278.

is taken notice of by almost all travellers; and it is remarkable that this is everywhere a characteristic of a people, as yet too rude to have entered far upon the career of invention. Garcilasso de la Vega, who quotes too the authority of Blas Valera, tells us of the Peruvians, that, 'if they do but see a thing, they will imitate it so exactly, without being taught, that they become better artists and mechanics than the Spaniards themselves.'* Frozier says of the same people, † 'they have a genius for arts, and are good at imitating what they see, but very poor at invention.' This is exactly the character given to us by almost all travellers, of the Chinese and the Hindus. The imitative genius of the savages of New Holland has, in like manner, attracted the attention of all our voyagers.

The Chinese know the art of building arches, which is more than the ancient Egyptians and Chaldeans did. But even this, it appears from experience, may be discovered by a people in a very early stage of civilization. 'The Mexicans,' says Clavigero 'understood the building of arches and vaults, as appears from their baths, from the remains of the royal palaces of Testuco, and other buildings which escaped the fury of the conquerors, and also from several paintings. ‡ It seems to be to these that Humboldt alludes in the following passage, 'Au Mexique et au Perou, ou trouve partout, dans les plaines elevées des montagnes, des traces d'une grande civilization. Nous avons vu, à une hauteur de seize à dix-huit cent toises, des ruines de palais et de bains. §

The art of laying out grounds with picturesque beauty appears to be possessed by the Chinese in a high degree of perfection. The gardens of the Emperor are spoken of with admiration by every one who has seen them. To this we should have been apt to ascribe more ingenuity than probably goes to its accomplishment, were it not for the proofs we have, at what an early stage of civilization, picturesque gardening is zealously cultivated. It seems to have been a very favourite art among the ancient Peruvians. 'All the royal palaces,' says Garcilasso de la Vega, 'had their gardens, and orchards, and places of pleasure, wherein the Inca might delight and divertize himself; and these gardens were planted with fruit-trees of the greatest beauty, with flowers and odoriferous herbs of all sorts and kinds, which that climate did produce.' ‖ That variety of situation was particularly studied, is

* Royal Commentaries, part ii. b. ii. ch. 30.
† Voyage to the South Sea. London Ed. 1718. p. 263.
‡ Clavigero, Hist. of Mexico, dissert. vi. sect. 3.
§ Tableaux de la nature à Paris, 1808. v. i. p. 167.
‖ Royal Commentaries, part i. b. vi. ch. 2.

is apparent, from another passage in the same chapter, where he tells us, 'that the Incas had a garden situated in an island near to Puna, where, being desirous to enjoy the air of the sea, they passed over to divertize and recreate themselves.' How extremely fond the antient Persians, a people not to be regarded as in a high state of civilization, were of gardening, and how numerous and beautiful were the παραδισοι, as the Greeks called them, of their kings and satraps, every body in any degree acquainted with the Greek historians fully knows. Yet, observe in what language an instructed European, when eulogy is not the subject proposed, deems it necessary to speak of them. 'The neighbourhood of the capital of Persia,' says Mr Gibbon, 'was adorned with three stately palaces, laboriously enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an Eastern monarch. The pleasant situation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris, was improved, according to the Persian taste, by the symmetry of flowers, fountains, and shady walks: and spacious parks were enclosed for the reception of bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained, at a considerable expense, for the pleasure of the royal chase.' After mentioning the destruction of all these by the Roman army, the historian adds,—'Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breast any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple, naked statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly monuments of Barbaric labour: and, if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace, than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life.' *

In the same manner might the laws, the literature, and the manners of the Chinese be explored, and placed in comparison with those of other rude nations. The conclusions would every where be the same. But this task, though far from an uninstructive one, with the practical inferences applicable to modify and direct the policy of Britain, we must leave to other hands, or at least to another opportunity. We have room at present for only two observations.

The preſs in China, ſays Mr Barrow, is free. † The preſs in China! and the freedom of the preſs!—what an abuſe of terms! Becauſe the Chineſe cut out words on blocks of wood, and ſometimes, for particular purpoſes, ſtamp them on paper, a practice not uſed for the multiplication of books, muſt we really be told that they have a preſs? But, of all things in the world, muſt we

* Gibbon, Hist. of Dec. & Fall, &c. vol. iv. p. 173.

† Barrow's China, p. 392.

be told that they have a free preſs! when every man in China knows, that if he were to write, and make public, either by the preſs, or by any other means, any thing diſagreeable to any man above him, that man might puniſh him with any ſeverity he pleaſes? A confirmed habit of looſe talking, and of vague thinking, a habit which ſeems to be ſo nearly univerſal, is here ſeen to produce ſad work with a man conſiderably better than common. Mr Barrow tells us, in the ſame breath, that any ſatyrical ſtrokes, any bold repreſentations, even any writing deemed uſeleſs, would be quickly rewarded with the diſcipline of the bamboo. Mr Barrow ſeems to have taken his notion of the freedom of the preſs from the lawyers of Europe, whoſe doctrine it is, that the preſs is free, when it is only ſubject to their arbitrary ſway. They tell us, that the preſs is free, when no licenſe is neceſſary previous to printing; though they claim a title to puniſh, to any extent they pleaſe, ſhort of life and limb, any man for almoſt any thing it is poſſible for him to write or to print. It muſt have been in conformity to this comfortable doctrine that Mr Barrow has told us, the preſs is free in China; where, indeed, there is no imprimatur,—becauſe the little uſe that is made of printing could not well have ſuggeſted it,—and becauſe the power of puniſhing afterwards is there ſo prompt and effectual, and the impoſſibility of circulation ſo complete, that there is no occaſion for any ſupernumerary precautions. A preſs free, in China, or any where elſe, merely becauſe a licenſe is not required to print! As well might they tell us, that thieving is free in England, becauſe there is no previous licenſe neceſſary to ſteal!

Since the philoſophical inquiry into the condition of the weaker ſex, in the different ſtages of ſociety, publiſhed by Millar,* it has been univerſally conſidered as an infallible criterion of barbarous ſociety, to find the women in a ſtate of great degradation. Scarcely among ſavages themſelves, is the condition of the women more wretched and humiliating than among the Chineſe. A very ſtriking picture of the ſlavery and oppreſſion to which they are doomed, but too long for inſertion in this place, is drawn by M. Vanbraam.† Mr Barrow informs us, that among the rich, the women are impriſoned ſlaves; among the poor, drudges; 'many being,' ſays he, 'compelled to work, with an infant upon the back, while the huſband, in all probability, is gaming.—I have frequently ſeen women,' he adds, 'aſſiſting to drag a ſort of light plough, and the harrow.—The eaſier taſk, that of directing the machine,

* Inquiry into the Origin of Ranks.

† Voyage en Chine de l'Ambaſſade Hollandaiſe, vol. ii. p. 146, *et ſeq.*

machine, is left to the huſband.'* 'The Chineſe value their daughters ſo little, that, when they have more children than they can eaſily maintain, they hire the midwives to ſtifle the females in a baſon of water as ſoon as they are born.'† Nothing can exceed the contempt towards women which the maxims of the moſt celebrated of their lawgivers expreſs. 'It is very difficult,' ſaid Confucius himſelf, 'to govern women and ſervants; for if you treat them with gentleneſs and familiarity, they loſe all reſpect: if with rigour, you will have continual diſturbance.'‡ Women are debarred almoſt entirely from the rights of property; and they never inherit. Among the moſt ſavage nations, the daughters are ſold to their huſbands, and are received and treated as ſlaves. When ſociety has made a little progreſs, the purchaſe money is received only as a preſent; and the wife, nominally at leaſt, is not received as a ſlave. Among the Chineſe, the daughter, with whom no dowry is given, is uniformly exchanged for a preſent; and ſo little is the tranſaction, even as a purchaſe, diſguiſed, that Mr Barrow has no ſcruple to ſay, 'the daughters may be ſaid to be invariably ſold.'‖ He aſſures us, that it is even a common practice among the Chineſe, to ſell their daughters that they may be brought up as proſtitutes.'§

It would be eaſy to extend theſe remarks; but we reſiſt the temptation: and conclude by recommending the work of M. de Guignes as one of the moſt valuable which European good ſenſe and intelligence (there really ſeems to be no other) has produced, upon the ſtate of the Aſiatic nations.

ART. X. *Strabonis Rerum Geographicarum Libri* XVII. *&c. juxta Ed. Amstelodamensem. Codicum MSS. Collationem, Annotationes, Tabulas Geographicas adjecit Thomas Falconer olim e Coll. Ænei Nasi, Oxon.* II. vol. large Folio. pp. 1333, besides Prefaces, Indexes, &c. Price 5*l.* 5s. boards. Oxonii, e Typogr. Clar. 1807.

NOTHING in Europe is at all comparable, in point of extent and magnificence, to the endowment of the University of Oxford,—or to the veneration which is there paid to the Greek and Latin languages. A competent knowledge of these tongues, is the principal, if not the ſole intellectual accompliſhment required in individuals to qualify them for enjoying the benefits of the

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* Barrow's China, p. 141, 541.
† P. Du Halde, vol. i. p. 278.—Hau-Kiou-Choaan, vol. i. p. 70.
‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 211. ‖ Barrow's China, p. 115. § *Ibid.* p. 518.

the very valuable and extensive ecclesiastical patronage possessed by the different Colleges; and a critically accurate knowledge of them is justly esteemed the most safe and effectual means of forming the taste, moulding the judgment, and directing the imaginations of those, whose stations or talents befit them for more active scenes of life, and open to their dawning ambition the more brilliant prospects of political advancement.

In every free state, eloquence is the principal medium of government, and the most direct and honourable road to rank, power and reputation; and even to those, who do not wish to take an active part in the politics or jurisprudence of the times, a prompt, fluent, correct, unembarrassed, and unaffected use of speech, is the most pleasing and ornamental of all accomplishments; and has ever been esteemed, from the days of Homer to the present, the most infallible criterion that can distinguish a gentleman. In languages so irregularly constructed as our own, this can only be acquired, perhaps, by accustoming our thoughts to flow through purer channels; in which every distinct operation of mind, or mode of thinking, has its distinct vehicle of expression; and every deviation from just order in our thoughts, an immediate and obvious corrective in a correspondent deviation from the established mode of speech.

It is not, therefore, without reason, that this learned University makes the study of the Greek and Latin languages, especially of the former, its first object in the education of those committed to its care; and we have often contemplated, with sentiments of patriotic pride and exultation, the spacious and comfortable abodes, and ample revenues provided for the instructors; which exempt them from all worldly cares, but those of learning and teaching; and, at the same time, protect them from those dangerous lures of pleasure and dissipation, which so often distract and unnerve the mind of the scholar amidst the busy bustling throng of a great and luxurious metropolis. To the Fellow of a College, the public library is the theatre of recreation, and the private study the office of business; from the fatigues of which, the morning's ride, and the evening's lounge, present constant, regular, and tranquil means of relaxation.

A printing press richly endowed, and employed under the direction of such a Body, to multiply improved editions of the best books in those languages which they particularly study, must naturally raise the highest expectations in the mind of every scholar; and excite the most confident hopes, that every new impression of a classic volume from the Clarendon press, would exhibit it with every remaining obscurity or ambiguity explained; and the stains and corruptions, which it had contracted in its passage through

through ages of darkness and barbarism, obliterated and purged away. From some causes, however, which we shall not presume to investigate, this constant renovation of hope has hitherto been followed by as constant a succession of disappointment: for, though this learned Body have occasionally availed themselves of the sagacity and erudition of Rhunken, Wyttenbach, Heyné, and other *foreign* professors, they have, of late, added nothing of their own, except what they derived from the superior skill of British manufacturers, and the superior wealth of their establishment; namely, whiter paper, blacker ink, and neater types.

Perhaps the unhappy attempt at an improved edition of Apollonius Rhodius, produced the same unpleasant conviction at home that it did abroad; and satisfied the graduates of the University, as well as the ushers and schoolboys of all Europe, that *degrees* neither implied nor conferred science, but that a man might become a *master of arts* without possessing any knowledge or skill whatsoever in that particular art which he professed, and which he was chosen and appointed to practise for the benefit and instruction of the community. Certain it is, that no such attempt has been made since, except in the single and minute, but very successful instance of Aristotle's Poetics; which was produced by an *auxiliary volunteer*, residing in the metropolis, engaged in business, and never secluded from the avocations of society. By not enjoying the leisure, perhaps, he never contracted the indolence or apathy of a monk; but preserved the activity, even by the distraction of his faculties. His name stands in the title-page plain Thomas Tyrwhitt,—without any decorative adjunct or title of degree,—though it would have done honour to the proudest which the most exalted seat of learning could bestow.

Of the Homer, published under the patronage, and partly, we believe, at the expense of a noble and illustrious family, the editors appear to be at least half a century behind the rest of the world in critical knowledge; they having religiously retained all the errors of Clarke's edition, even those introduced on the authority of mere conjecture, and in instances where the true reading had been twice before published on the authority of the Venetian manuscript. One of these so appalled us in the twentieth line of the first Iliad, as to deter us from all further critical examination: for, when a gross violation of idiom in the use of the moods and voices, introduced arbitrarily to supply a defect in the metre, neither excited suspicion nor suggested inquiry, no one who values his time can think it worth while to go farther. The business of criticism is to detect and exterminate living and triumphant errors,—not to hunt in cemeteries for the dead,—nor gird on its arms to slay the slain, though embalmed and canonized in the sanctuary of science.

From

From this sanctuary, however, we confidently expected an ample compensation for all our disappointments in the long promised edition of Strabo. No author so much required the confederate labours of a learned body; and none displayed so wide a field for the useful exertion of various talent and multifarious erudition. The text is mutilated and corrupt in an uncommon degree; and, to restore it, requires the labours of the geographer, historian, antiquary, philosopher, and astronomer, joined to those of the grammarian and verbal critic. We therefore learned, with much satisfaction, that no pains nor expense had been spared in obtaining collations of manuscripts from the libraries on the Continent, as well as from those at home; but that the materials would be worthy of the artists, and the solidity of the substructions correspond with the weight and extent of the edifice. No felicity of conjecture can be so satisfactory as the stamp of authority; and it is only in taking advantage of authority, and employing that of one passage in supplying and correcting the defects and corruptions of another, that we wish to see the sagacity and ingenuity of the emendatory critic employed in altering the text. The license of conjecture, without some such restraint, is not to be trusted even in the hands of a Bentley,—as the Horace and Milton of that great critic, who was more successful in Greek than in Latin, and in Latin than in English, abundantly prove.

But the timidity or indolence which forbears from changing the manifestly corrupt or defective reading of a printed text, for the manifestly correct or entire one of an ancient manuscript, seems to us still more culpable: for the faulty reading is, at best, but that of another manuscript; and the ordinary reader, or student, has a right to claim, from the superior learning and experience of an editor and professed critic, his judgment of preference, even in the most doubtful cases—and exemption from the trouble and interruption of looking continually to the bottom of the page in those, where there can be no doubt. This claim becomes stronger when the office of editor is undertaken by a learned Body, whose business is public instruction, or is delegated by them to such of their members as are deemed most competent to express the judgment, and exercise the authority of the whole. The modesty of not deciding, too, is in all cases but a suspicious virtue; as it may be merely a pretext for the indolence of not forming, or the timidity of not hazarding, an opinion. To accumulate various readings in the margin, is unquestionably a very useful labour; but it is mere labour,—such as any mechanic librarian or transcriber is ready to do for pay. It is in selection that the learning and judgment of the critic are shown; and from such a synod of critics, the republic of letters have a right to expect a *work*—not merely the

the raw materials for one;—a legible text, wherever it could be obtained from the various readings, and not an indigested aggragate of variations,—out of which every reader is left to pick out a text for himself, according to the measure of his own learning, judgment, and sagacity.

An account of the different manuscripts collated, chiefly in extracts of correspondence, partly Latin and partly French, is given in the preface; and also a sketch of the general design of the undertaking; which, with the addition of maps, notes that might have been spared, and the above-mentioned readings, is merely to repeat the text and notes of the Amsterdam edition of 1707, with such corrections as former editions might supply. This statement is introduced in the following sentence, addressed to the reader;—which we transcribe as a specimen of composition, such as those of *our* readers, who are not employed in the education of very young children, have seldom the misfortune to meet with.

'Cæterum agam uti potero, et, si nihil aliud afferam, saltem ea recensebo, quæ rationem operis te edoceant, quibus subsidiis instructa est hæc Strabonis editio, vel quæ aliqua ex parte incrementa eam sumpsisse contigerit.'

If this be the kind of Latin now taught and written in the University of Oxford, we have only to observe, that it is an original indigenous speech of their own; and that, to give it any semblance of Roman Latin, we must either change the indicative *est* to the subjunctive *sit*, or write *subsidia quibus* for *quibus subsidiis*, in the first place; and a dative for an accusative—*ci* for *eam*—in the second; since the impersonal *contingit* necessarily requires a dative, either written or understood. The proper and discriminate use, indeed, of the indicative and subjunctive moods, is in many cases a point of such extreme nicety, as may excuse error; but such a phrase as *edoceant quibus instructa est*,

'Non homines, non dii, non concessere columnæ;'

at least in places where ignorance is not privileged by titular degrees of science. At the same time, we do not mean to assert or insinuate that, amidst the corruptions with which most antient authors abound, authorities may not be found for such expressions, in verbs whose indicative and subjunctive forms are only discriminated by a single and easily commutable letter; but we confidently maintain that, wherever they occur, they will be found, on due investigation, to be corruptions; of which there are no instances in forms so dissimilar as *est* and *sit*, *erat* and *esset*, &c.

In the third Eclogue of Virgil, for example, v. 106, many manuscripts and editions have

'Dic

' Dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum
Nascuntur flores,'—

but all the best have *nascantur;* which, *pateat* in the preceding line, preserved by the metre, would prove to be right, if any proof were wanting. Nor let the student be misled by such sentences as that of another line, 103, of the same Eclogue.

' Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos:'

for here is an ellipsis both of the subjunctive and of the pronoun that governs the succeeding verb—*nescio quis (sit) oculus (qui) mihi fascinat agnos.* So ' Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade;' that is, *Nescio quid (sit quod) nascitur majus Iliade.* Equally elliptical are the expressions ' dico quod sentio,' that is, *id quod sentio;* and, in our own language, ' I know, say, or do, *what* is right;' viz. *that which is right.* A similar ellipsis is also common in the use of the Greek pronouns.

In the familiar phrases *nescio quare—quomodo*—or *quo casu,* the prior verb is parenthetical; as, *fuit apertè mihi, nescio quare, non amicus.—Nescio quomodo, ipsæ illæ litteræ excludere me a portu et perfugio videntur.—Lucus, nescio quo casu, nocturno tempore incensus est.* These instances, therefore, afford no authority for such an expression as *edoceant quibus instructa est;* nor do we believe that such a sentence as ' *cur omisit Strabo expeditionem maritimam regnante Necho factam, nescio,*' (Note, p. 48.), will be found in any correct antient Latin. A Roman, we are confident, would have written *omiserit.*

The very serious concern which we feel at seeing the literary reputation of the country tarnished and degraded in the estimation of Europe, by such expressions as the above, issuing, in barbarous abundance, from the fountain head of learning, taste and science among us, must be our apology for entering into so minute a grammatical discussion. Our purpose is to admonish, rather than to expose; and we trust that more care will be taken in future; so that the honour of the University, which must depend on its publications, be committed to none but men of real talents and sound erudition.

It remains for us to show, as briefly as we can, how far the very humble professions, which introduce this splendid, ponderous, and long-expected edition of the Geographer to the public, have at length been fulfilled.

The *critical* notes of the editor are few and unimportant; but there are some of Toup, of a M. le Febvre Villebrune of Paris, of Mr John Reinhold Forster, and several (would there were more!) of the late Mr Tyrwhitt. These last, indeed, with the various readings collected from manuscripts, which are numerous and important, constitute the chief value of this edition; which,

which, though not good in itself, contains materials for a good one.

In considering Mr Tyrwhitt's emendations, we scarcely know which to admire most,—the learning, judgment, and sagacity of his conjectures, or the taste, modesty, and simplicity, with which they are proposed. He displays the depth and ingenuity of Bentley, without any of his arrogance or audacity. In several instances, as in p. 253 : 19, 291 : 10, 430 : 33, 558 : 29, 1021 : 23, 1150 : 6, they have been confirmed by manuscripts collected since his death; and we doubt not of their being so in others, should other antient copies be discovered. By the neat and simple alteration of ΣΚΟΛΙΑ to ΣΚΟΠΑ, p. 917 : 8, the truth and propriety of which will be self-evident to every scholar, he has clearly exposed the rashness and presumption of Winkelman; who, not having learning enough to discover the no-meaning of a passage, was never at a loss in explaining it; the difficulty of making sense, of some sort, being often much less than that of discovering the want of it; so that the last thing which the scholar has to learn, is, to learn to doubt. See *Hist. Art.* l. i. c. i. §. 10.

Almost the whole of the editor's own notes are *historical* and *geographical* commentaries; which may be of use to the reader, in saving him the trouble of reference,—provided he can understand the new dialect of Latin in which they are written, and which, for distinction's sake, we will venture to call *Oxonian*. But this, we confess, hath often puzzled us much; and we apprehend, will puzzle still more those who do not understand the parent language,—which is no other than the vulgar English of the present day. That we may, however, give them the benefit of such discoveries as we have been able to make in the peculiarities of its idiom and structure, we shall here enumerate a few of the principal points in which it seems most to differ from the old Roman Latin.

In this *Roman* Latin, the relative conjunction QUOD usually governs an indicative, when it answers to the English conjunction BECAUSE, unless the sentence be potential or oblique; and a subjunctive, when it stands for UT, and answers to the English THAT. But in *Oxonian* Latin, this is completely reversed; and we have repeatedly such sentences as '*quod* vires *sint* exiguæ, sæpe insidiis circumvenire hostem tentant,' p. 210.; and 'suspicor *quod Strabo* Byzantii latitudinem a Massiliensi *sumpsit*,' 172.; also, 'hæc relata digna censui, *quod* Strabo non satis clarè de hoc bello *scripserit*,' p. 1088; and *scribit quod cloacæ——subiere tecta*,' p. 886.

In Roman Latin, UT, used in the same manner as a conjunction of subordinacy, has always a subjunctive; but in this improved Oxonian Latin, it has often an indicative, as 'tantus fuit agriculturæ

agriculturæ progressus, *ut* imperator Julianus, abhinc vix 74 annis, vites optimas et ficus in Gallia *describit*; et aëris temperiem in hyeme Parisiis esse placidissimam affirmat,' p. 243.; and 'rectius, ut opinor χιλιους deleri debet, *ut* vera distantia ab Alexandria ad Prophthasiam *statuitur*,' p. 748. Lest, however, this poor conjunction UT should not well accord with its natural mood, after being used to such different company, we find it omitted where a Roman would have thought it necessary; as in 'paullo infra Caunum ex Idubeda emissus Orospeda mollibus initio jugis vix assurgere videatur,' p. 220.; that is, in old Latin, *ut* vix assurgere videatur.

We should charitably attribute much of this kind to error of the press, were it not systematic, and had not the compositors and correctors done their duty fully in every other part of the work.

Of the Oxonian use of the indicative with the relative pronoun subordinate to another verb, we have already treated in our observations on the Preface. But the instances of this new figure of speech are so numerous in the Notes, that we cannot refrain from citing a few specimens of them, for the benefit of those who may not be able to procure so costly a book. 'Deinde refert quæ *sunt* urbes non decumanæ.' p. 395. 'Cum sentirent quantum optimates a divitiis apud plebem potuerunt.' p. 346. 'Quo potissimum tempore suscepta est ea expeditio parum constat.' p. 728. 'Observandum est, quo violentior est solis ardor, eo citius fieri pluvias.' p. 985. We presume that *citius* here stands for *crebrius*; for though '*it rains faster*,' be a common vulgarism in English, we do not believe that it had even that humble station in any idiom of the Latin, that existed prior to the Oxonian.

The tenses, in this Anglo-Latin dialect, are as licentiously and incongruously used as the moods: whence we have, 'Quorum maxime interfuit ut Ætolorum potentia ne nimis crescat.' p. 674. 'Neque hoc memoriæ lapsu Strabo scripsit; sed cum de Cyri rebus gestis vix aliquid certe constat, eam famam sequitur,' &c. p. 745. 'Siquis autem Jaxartem esse Araxum Herodoti supponeret, hoc aliquid verisimilitudinis habet.' p. 746. 'Pontifices Judæi non restituerunt donec a Babylone redierint, Persis tunc tempore imperantibus.' p. 1083. 'Hic Cæsar Octavianus studiis vacavit, cum avunculus Julius Romæ occisus fuit.' p. 458. In these sentences, a Roman, could he otherwise have been barbarian enough to have composed such, would have written, *crescceret—constaret—sequebatur—supposuerit—haberet—rediissent—vacabat—occisus est.*

But a strictly accurate use of the moods and tenses, it may be said,

said, is a nice point, in which scarcely any modern Latin is quite consistent. Granted, generally; though not in the instances here cited. Yet surely the same privilege will not be claimed for the cases of nouns; nor a nominative be allowed to stand *subject* to a verb active,—at least any where but at Oxford. There, however, we have the following passage from the University press, and the pen of a distinguished graduate, selected from the whole Body, at an advanced period of life, to conduct the greatest work that it had undertaken for more than a century preceding, 'Strabo duodecim civitates in Etruria principes antea dixit; sed harum tantum octo memoravit, scilicet, *Tarquinii, Cara, Volaterra, Arretium, Parusia, Volsinii, Falerii, Clusium!!!* p. 322.

In the Homeric Greek, there is a figure of speech somewhat like this in—

Φημι γαρ ουν τετυνται υπερμενια Κρονιωνα
* * * * * *
* * * * * *
Αστραπην τειδιξια. *Il.* B. 350—4.

And,

Του δη καλλιστους ιππους ιδον ηδε μεγιστους,
Λευκοτερους χιονος, θειειν δ' ανεμοισιν ομοιους. *Il.* K. 436, 7.

—which grammarians, not knowing what to make of, have chosen to call an enallagè, whereas it is more properly an ellipsis, in which ὁτι ην and οἱ ησαν are understood. But, whatever be its proper title or description, it was unknown to every period of Latinity—prior to the appearance of the Oxonian, which it has thus so happily enriched.

Upon the same principle, the baldness and poverty of the antient Roman tongue have been embellished in this new modification of it with the exquisite and recondite phrases of stretching out a sentence or opinion geographically by the mile, from one gate of a great city to another,—'Donati tamen *sententiam* intelligo esse a porta Esquilina versus Labicanam,' p. 334,—and exhibiting Faith or Belief in a tangible or visible form, ascertained by cubical or superficial measure—'*major* auctori nostro ac Justino adhibenda fides est.' p. 1056,—which this learned Body is so generous as to give gratuitously (for they cannot mean it in the Roman sense, of either rendering credible or pledging) to an old Jewish historian, who has been dead seventeen centuries—'Josephi fidem 'damus'—and make a faithless usurper give to history, what he never had to give to any one—'Augustus fidem historiæ dedit,' p. 1085. The English phrase, indeed, of 'giving credit to,' may suggest another meaning, and make us Britons suspect, that, in this new dialect, 'fidem dare' signifies what 'fidem habere' did in the old: but no such suspicion will arise on the Continent, where no such indigenous expression exists.

Notwithſtanding, however, the lights thus derived from our native tongue, there are ſome of theſe Oxonianiſms ſo profound or ſo refined, that our northern underſtandings, condenſed as they are with mathematics and metaphyſics, can ſcarcely comprehend them at all. For inſtance, '*Romanis enim Græcisque æque ignorantibus qui deus fuit Menes; necesse dicat Strabo esse eundem cum Luna, quam sub forma fœminea coluerunt,*' p. 804. Is it poſſible that by this can be meant, 'Romanis enim Græciſque juxta ignorantibus quiſnam deorum eſſet iſte Menes, pro alio quam Luna, ſub deæ perſona ab iis culta, Straboni vix haberi potuerit?' Is it poſſible, too, that even the preſsmen at Oxford ſhould be ignorant that there was at Rome a *deus Lunus*, as well as a *dea Luna?* Or can '*Tigranes post reges subditos rex regum appellatur*,' p. 772, mean 'Tigranes, poſtquam reges ſupradictos imperio ſubjecerat, rex regum appellatus eſt?' We ſuppoſe that it muſt have been ſo intended; though *rex subditus*, in Terentian or Ciceronian language, would mean a *counterfeit* or *supposititious*, rather than a *vanquished king*.

Equally perplexing would be the following, did not the commentary receive ſome elucidation from the text. '*Platæenses noster author affirmat esse olim prope paludem sitos; remotis tamen incolis ad meliorem locum a palude distantem, urbs nova nomen priscum servavit, quod nomen non eorum situi ab aquis remoto propriè competeret.*' To which the writer adds, with ſelf-complacent confidence, '*nihil absurdi in his, ut mihi videtur, apparet*,' p. 590. Very differently, however, does it appear to us; and to make it appear in any degree otherwiſe, we muſt write 'Platæenſes ad paludem olim habitaſſe, noſter affirmat: in locum autem meliorem tranſlatos novæ urbi nomen priſcum continuaſſe, ſitui licet, ab aquis remoto, haud diutius competiſſet.' It is to be obſerved, that, in Strabo's time, the city in queſtion had long ceaſed to exiſt.

In the ſame dialect is the following: '*Nonne vult Pausanias Melanthum esse primum Nelei posterorum, qui in Attica sedem habuit, et idcirco Melanthus Andropompi filius Xanthum occidit?*' p. 570. And to make it intelligible beyond the precincts of the learned Univerſity, we muſt tranſlate it out of Oxonian into Roman Latin; which may perhaps be done thus. 'Nonne vult Pauſanias Melanthum Andropompi filium e Nelei progenie primum fuiſſe, qui in Attica ſedem habuiſſet; atque ideo eundem qui Xanthum occidiſſet?'

We have often indulged ourſelves in the wiſh, that the Latin might again become the diplomatic language of civilized man, inſtead of the French; the univerſality of which has ſo much contributed to the ſubjugation of Europe, and muſt contribute to retain

tain it in ſubjection. The principal obſtacles that have preſented themſelves, have been the difficulty of it, and the hardſhip of making courtly ſtateſmen change the phraſeology of the drawing-room for that of the college. This objection, however, will be entirely removed by the introduction of this new dialect; which is ſo entirely emancipated from thoſe grammatical reſtraints, in which pedants had ſhackled the old, that not only orators and ſtateſmen of the neweſt faſhion and ſlendereſt capacity, but even princes, courtiers, and maids of honour may acquire a competent uſe of it, without appropriating any more of their time to ſtudy, than thoſe intervals between ſleep and diſſipation, which they now employ in dozing over an Engliſh pamphlet or a French novel.

It may, indeed, happen that eaſy writing may be hard reading, as we have here experienced; but then we may claim the parental privilege, which the French turned to ſo much advantage in the armiſtice of Marengo, of interpreting it ourſelves; which will afford ample compenſation for every inconvenience. There is one peculiarity of idiom, too, which may recommend it to the protection of him qui cogere poſſit. It is, that '*to confine*' or '*imprison*,' and '*to preserve*,' are ſignified by the ſame word—'*obsides sub Bostare servatos*,' p. 216.; that is, 'cuſtoditos;' ſo that, in this courtly ſtyle, all the perſons, whom he keeps immured, are only *preserved* ſecure from accidents. Many antient tyrants, whoſe dungeons were always well ſtored with ſtate-priſoners waiting the leiſure of the executioner, had ſtatues erected to them by the flattery of thoſe who feared the ſame fate, with 'ob cives ſervatos' inſcribed on the baſe; neither party probably ſuſpecting how true the words might prove in the Latin of a diſtant period.

To the end of the work are ſubjoined ſome ingenious diſquiſitions on the geography of antient Ægypt, in the form of notes on the two laſt books, by John Reinhold Forſter,—written with eaſe and fluency, and without any very glaring or prominent faults. The Latin is, indeed, of the German ſchool, which is not perfectly Roman; but ſtill in no caſe ſo remote from it, as the Oxonian is in all.

As the text pretends to be no more than a faithful tranſcript of the edition of 1707, with here and there a reading recalled from thoſe that preceded it, all new materials for criticiſm are withheld. Theſe recalled readings, however, we have not very often obſerved; and in p. 182, l. 9, that of the Amſterdam folio is retained in the text, though the editor, in a note, prefers that of the earlier editions. We have not, indeed, thought it a part of our duty to collate 1305 folio pages, in which nothing new was promiſed; having found the labour of wading through every muddy pud-

dle in the margin, and analyzing its contents, ſufficiently irkſome, and ſuch as no animal but a reviewer will probably undergo. We have nevertheleſs peruſed the whole attentively, and can again aſſert, that the printers have done their duty in rendering very accurately that which was put before them. The accuracy is, however, that of the Chineſe taylor, who, in making a new coat from an old one, copied all the darns, patches and blemiſhes, which he found in the pattern. In the ſame manner here, every error of the preſs, and uſual inaccuracy of ſpelling, that had crept into the Amſterdam text, is religiouſly retained; and the ſame names written promiſcuouſly Πισσατις, Πισατις, and rightly Πισατις—Ηλιακον and Ηλιακον even in the same page, 511—Αυγιας and Αυγιας—Ποσιδειον and Ποτιδεον, &c. &c.

The text, which has been ſo ſervilely copied, is merely a repetition of Caſaubon's; who does not appear to have ſuperintended the printing, or to have corrected it at all himſelf; whence errors have accumulated on errors; which are all carefully embalmed and preſerved in the ſplendid edition before us, though rectified in a reading of a manuſcript at the bottom of the page. Thus we have Αθηνας for Αθηνα, p. 502 : 18. Ενδοικῳ for Ενδοϊκῳ, p. 508 : 28. ὑπηρχεν and ὑπηρειαν for ὑπηρχεν and ὑπηρειαν, p. 512 : 13, and 531 : 5. την for τον, p. 536 : 21. οικειων for οικιαν, p. 552 : 23. στρατια for στρατια, p. 561 : 20. Ερετρια for Ερετρια, p. 585 : 9 & 13. ωλιλειπται for ωλιλειπται, p. 648 : 12, &c. &c. all accurately copied, as others of the ſame kind are in almoſt every page.

Neither the editions of Caſaubon nor of 1707 are ſcarce; and why the readings of the manuſcripts and the emendations of Mr Tyrwhitt, which are alone of any value, might not have been publiſhed in one ſmall ſupplementary volume, we are at a loſs to conjecture. This might have been afforded for five ſhillings; and, precious as are the ingredients, two thouſand per cent. of alloy is rather too large a proportion for them to bear.

The ſeventeen maps, with which the ſeventeen books are illuſtrated and adorned, are ſaid, in the preface, to have been formed on the beſt authorities, and carefully adapted to the geography of Strabo. We have examined only that of the central ſtates of Greece; and in that we find neither Erythræ in Bœotia, nor Ægæ, Hiſtiæa, or Orabiæ in Euboea,—though they are all deſcribed as cities of importance in the text of the author,—are duly placed in the map of M. D'Anville,—and the three firſt, moreover, diſtinguiſhed as independent ſtates by their coins ſtill extant.

It has been before obſerved, that the editor's notes are almoſt all hiſtorical and geographical; and in theſe ſciences he diſplays the ſame ſort of accuracy as in grammar, of which we have quoted ſo many edifying ſpecimens. Thus Philip the ſon of Demetrius and father

father of Perſeus, is called repeatedly *Philip the Second*, though he was the *fourth* regularly acknowledged King of Macedonia of that name,—and the *fifth*, if the ſon of Caſſander be admitted into the catalogue. The founder of the empire was Philip the ſecond.

In taking leave of this ponderous monument of operoſe ignorance and vain expenſe, we again declare that the purpoſe of our animadverſions has been to admoniſh and amend, not to inſult and expoſe. Though we have not aſſumed a tragical tone, the concern that we feel at ſeeing ſuch a pile of rubbiſh heaped up with ſo much labour, and under the ſanction of ſuch authority, has been ſerious indeed. In ſome of the paſſages which we have cited and endeavoured to amend, we found it impoſſible to produce ſenſe, and could therefore only attempt to make nonſenſe grammatical. Many of the errors of the preſs, that have been ſo ſcrupulouſly copied from the former editions, utterly change the meaning of the words; as στρατια for στρατις, οικια for οικις, &c. &c.; by which the young ſtudent may not only be perplexed, but miſled. That there are men of learning in the Univerſity of Oxford competent to a great undertaking of this kind, we can ſcarcely allow ourſelves to doubt; and happy ſhould we be to rouſe their induſtry and ſtimulate their ambition, ſo as to make them ſhake off the benumbing influence of port and prejudice,—do themſelves and their country honour, and the republic of letters eſſential ſervice. Nor let them ſacrifice to the frivolous taſte of book-collectors; who value an edition according to the ſize of the margin, the texture of the paper, and the tint of the ink. Theſe are decorations, which works of eſtabliſhed reputation may very properly receive from the royal preſſes of the Louvre and Eſcurial: but let thoſe of Britiſh univerſities be employed for ſtudents and ſcholars—to inſtruct the induſtrious, not to amuſe the idle.

There is now a work much wanted, to which none but ſuch a Body are competent,—both the labour and expenſe of it being beyond the reach of an individual. It is an enlarged and improved edition of Stephen's Greek Theſaurus, upon the plan that Geſner has followed in the Latin Theſaurus. Defective as this Greek lexicon is, it is the only one, from which the ſtudent can obtain any general information; and it is now become ſo ſcarce and expenſive, that very few of thoſe, who want it for uſe, and not for ſhow, have the means of procuring it. Should the Univerſity of Oxford attempt to retrieve its credit by ſuch an undertaking, we hope that due conſideration will be had of this; and that to gratify the neceſſities of the ſtudious, and not the vanities of the oſtentatious, will be the primary and principal object.

ART. XI. *The Orders in Council and the American Embargo beneficial to the Political and Commercial Interests of Great Britain.* By Lord Sheffield. pp. 51. London. G. & W. Nicol. 1809.

The Speech of James Stephen, Esq. in the Debate in the House of Commons, March 6th, 1809, *on Mr Whitbread's Motion relative to the late Overtures of the American Government; with Supplementary Remarks on the recent Orders in Council.* pp. 130. London. Hatchard. 1809.

State of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, for the Year 1809. By Gould Francis Leckie, Esq. pp. 86. London. Chapple. 1809.

THE critical state of our foreign affairs, and the gross delusions which prevail respecting it, call loudly upon all good citizens to contribute their assistance towards the introduction of more sound and enlightened principles of policy, while it is yet possible to save the country by any change of measures. However much the people may have been misled upon these subjects, we are convinced that they entertain far less extravagant views than the Government; and that the contempt in which they hold the late measures of their rulers, gives us some security for the favourable reception of more just and rational opinions. A general expression of the public sentiments may even yet reclaim the Government from the course in which they have so long persisted; and the very weakness which has, especially of late, rendered our administration the object of contempt at home, and distrust among foreigners, may have the desirable effect of giving scope to the good sense of the country. In truth, the subject of our connexions with foreign states, from some imaginary difficulties supposed to attend the discussion of it, occupies far too little of popular attention. Ordinary readers, who will cheerfully go through the details of a budget containing some half-dozen of new taxes, are afraid to grapple with topics relating to distant countries, and the operations of war,—at the same time that the paramount importance of the latter is so universally felt, that every man considers the value of his property as affected by each skirmish on the Ebro and the Danube; and while the tidings of events in those remote quarters are sought after with almost as much avidity as if they were passing in the neighbouring counties of this island, the bulk of the people either judge of them blindly by their wishes, or are satisfied to rest upon the authority

thority of others—just as if there were some mystery in the subject, and as if it were one which common sense and ordinary information are wholly incapable of mastering. For our parts, we are satisfied, that, until the understandings of the people of this country are steadily and habitually directed to the dealings of their rulers with foreign states—until the nation is in the practice of exercising its judgment upon these matters, and of raising its voice against their gross mismanagement—until, in short, Englishmen learn to form opinions, and to express them, upon measures which, though not immediately acting upon their individual concerns, are nevertheless inseparably connected with them,—it is in vain to expect from the Government that steady and enlightened pursuit of the national good which can only be secured by the constant vigilance of a jealous and intelligent public. In order to contribute our humble assistance to the promotion of discussions so essentially necessary on every account at the present moment, we have brought together, as the foundation of a single article, the tracts mentioned in the title. They may seem to fall under different classes; but it will speedily be perceived, that the subjects are not to be separated without inconvenience. We shall first of all endeavour to make our readers acquainted with the merits of these publications.

Lord Sheffield has frequently come before the public as an author of pamphlets on commercial subjects; and, in so far as his works are remembered, he is universally allowed to hold the first place among political writers distinguished for the narrowness of their views, and their want of general information. While the science of which he professes to treat has been making great and continual progress,—while persons of all parties in practical politics have vied with each other in doing homage to the liberal philosophy of the new school, while even those who were bred under different systems have shown sense and manliness enough to adopt the modern improvements, and, some of them * in their old age have been found to desert the erroneous doctrines of their former years—Lord Sheffield alone remains exactly where he was before—alone rejects all improvement—nay, appears as if quite unconscious of what has been doing on every side of him—stands stock still in the midst of a rapidly advancing age—and is seen poring over his little custom-house note books, stone blind to the lights which are breaking in upon him from all quarters. Nor is it by this ridiculous posture only that he has attracted notice:—his little motions are always observed to point one way; he bends to

* The late Lord Liverpool is an honourable instance. See our review of his valuable work on the Coinage of the Realm.

existing ministries, and present measures;—his face is turned toward the King's gate;—his small outcry is always heard in behalf 'of *whatever is.*' It is true, his workmanship is so heavy and so clumsy, that he can render but little service to his patrons; and, were he an untitled candidate for readers, these patrons would very certainly cease to employ him. But they have made a Lord of him; and it looks well to see such a one bepraising their measures far more extravagantly than any of their daily papers. We presume, too, that Mr Canning may feel it gratifying, that a Lord should be found to prefix his name to a work in which Lord Grenville's strictures on his diplomatic correspondence are actually ascribed, without any hesitation, to envy of his (*Mr Canning's!*) 'superior talents, energy and judgment;' and of the 'greater success of his (*Mr Canning's!*) measures.'

The object of the pamphlet now before us (which considerably surpasses any former display of those qualities generally recognized in Lord Sheffield), is to show, not merely that the measures of our own Government, and the American embargo, have done no harm to our trade, but that they have actually proved beneficial. To give any abstract of the argument by which this strange position is supported, would be impossible; for the desultory chat (reasoning we cannot call it), and unconnected estimates of this writer, are incapable of abridgment. We shall, however, give a few specimens of his attempts to bring good out of evil; from which our readers will perceive, that if any ministry were suddenly to prohibit all foreign commerce, or, by an order in council, to prevent the land from being tilled, they might still hope for an advocate, who should discover that these measures were beneficial to the country.

The embargo, Lord Sheffield contends, has destroyed the American carrying trade. Previous to this happy event, the supply of British commodities to foreign countries was daily getting more and more into the hands of the Americans. Our own tonnage was constantly decreasing, and theirs was augmenting in the same proportion. But they are kind enough, all at once, to destroy their trade by the embargo;—they can no longer supply foreign countries with British goods;—this lucrative trade must therefore return to ourselves. Had he only explained in what manner the suspension of trade between America and France opened the French ports permanently, or even for a day, to us, we should have derived much comfort from this ingenious person's discovery. Nor is this all. The trade between England and foreign countries, it seems, is so beneficial, that the embargo is to be thankfully received as tending to give us an additional share of it. But, some how or another, this embargo cuts us off from trade with at least one

one foreign country, viz. America itself; and this country happens to be *the only one* with which we had any trade remaining. Lord Sheffield, however, is not dismayed by any such trifle. He boldly affirms, that this is no loss. And here we must quote his own words, lest we should be accused of misrepresentation. In truth, it might well be doubted that such a passage as the following could be found in any publication.

'Of this we may be assured, that they (the Americans) never have, and never will, take from us any article which they can procure cheaper or better from other countries. They find it highly advantageous to take our manufactures and produce, to enable them to carry on their commerce with other nations; especially on account of the long credit which they obtain here, and which no other country can afford. They have the advantage of drawing immediately for the produce received from them, though they require and are allowed from twelve to eighteen months credit from us. Indeed, so pertinaciously are the magnified advantages of the American trade insisted upon, with the view of intimidating us into measures highly injurious to British interests, that they require even further contradiction. It has the characteristics of the worst trade. The apparent balance in our favour becomes nearly a nonentity. A trade with every country is certainly desirable; inasmuch as an extensively general commerce with the world secures us from a state of dependence on any one individual nation. But what advantages do we derive from an exportation, if we are not paid for it? Which, most assuredly, is much more frequently the case, in the course of our trade with the citizens of the American States, than with any other country. Immense sums have been continually lost to our merchants and manufacturers, by the insolvency of their American customers; and the payment of any part of their accounts is always very slow and uncertain.' (p. 13.)—and so forth.

Again, the stoppage of the cotton trade is beneficial. Their cotton was in such abundance, that it had become a drug. We had glutted the market with yarn and goods. There was no telling where the evil might stop, when the embargo came and acted, says Lord Sheffield, 'the part of a salutary medicine upon a previously diseased body.' Previous to that happy event, the states of the Continent were supplied with cotton-wool from America. They might have learnt to manufacture it without our assistance; but the embargo, and 'our very politic prohibition of the export of the raw material,' have removed this risk, and restored to us—the supply of the Continent with cotton yarn, and goods! After this we should perhaps stop; but we must mention one other instance of benefit resulting from the embargo, because it is, if possible, still more unexpected. The linen manufacture of Ireland, it seems, flourishes as well as ever it has done; and one proof is given,—a late rise on Irish linens of 40 or 50 *per cent.*

cent. This, to be ſure, is in part owing, ſays Lord Sheffield, to the ſcarcity of flax-ſeed ariſing from the embargo, and in part to the exportation of German linens having been checked; but then, the ſcarcity of foreign flax-ſeed, while it raiſes the linens in the mean time, will ultimately encourage the cultivation of the article at home.

This very profound writer, however, ſeems conſcious that he muſt not always occupy ſuch high ground. He therefore deſcends to combat with thoſe who accuſe the Orders in Council, and the embargo, of having injured our trade; and proceeds with ſome warmth, but with his uſual ſucceſs, to repel ſuch inſinuations. He accordingly aſſerts, that other cauſes than thoſe famous meaſures produced the defalcation which our trade ſuffered laſt year. The only one, however, which he ſpecifies, is the abolition of the ſlave trade. This event, he ſays, happening during laſt year, deprived us of the African market for our merchandize. We muſt ſtop to wipe out ſo foul an aſperſion. The defalcation in queſtion was ſeven millions upon the exports. The African ſlave trade never employed one million; as Lord Sheffield either knows, or ought to know, before he preſumes to touch ſuch a ſubject. The ſlave trade was *not* aboliſhed laſt year, but the year before; as this writer either knows, or ought to know, before he dares to range himſelf on the ſide of any queſtion eſpouſed by Mr Stephen. With what indignation muſt that diſtinguiſhed perſon have ſpurned at ſuch an apology for his favourite meaſures!—a defence of the Orders in Council at the expenſe of the abolition!

The eſtimate of our trade having ſuffered a defalcation of fourteen millions, in conſequence of the Orders in Council and the embargo, is attacked, in different ways, by this noble author. He firſt tries to beat down the ſum by various means; but, failing in this, he has recourſe to the following. 'Nothing,' ſays he, 'can be more abſurd, than that of adding import to export, by way of marking our loſs of trade; becauſe it is the difference between import and export, and not the aggregate of both, which conſtitutes the groſs amount of the balance of trade, and which furniſhes the only baſis upon which an eſtimate of the profit or loſs to the country can be founded.' So that, according to Lord Sheffield, it is better for a country to have a trade of one million of exports, and one hundred thouſand pounds of imports, than a trade of one hundred millions of exports, and ninety-nine millions and a half of imports. We preſume it is unneceſſary for us, after this, to purſue any further the lucubrations of the Lord Sheffield. We cannot, however, refrain from aſking him, before we part, never, as we earneſtly hope, to meet again, how it happens, that he, who has, during a long life of bad pamphlets, been harping perpetually upon

on the wiſdom and neceſſity of the navigation laws, ſhould have ſuddenly become the moſt zealous advocate of meaſures profeſſedly hoſtile to thoſe laws—meaſures, the whole effects of which are expreſsly ſtated to be an infringement upon the navigation and colonial ſyſtem? We put it to his diſcretion, if he will allow no higher appeal, whether any thing that may have paſſed between himſelf and the late adminiſtration, can juſtify ſuch a breach of conſiſtency in a prudential view? What though the members of that adminiſtration are no longer in power? The time may come when they ſhall again rule. And if Lord Sheffield could ſuſpend his attack upon them until they were entirely out of place, his ground of quarrel having been laid early in their ſhort reign, he might ſurely have waited a little longer for the chance of its proving unneceſſary. *

Mr Stephen is a champion of a different character. His ſpeech, like all his other publications, is replete with talent and information; and, erroneous as we conceive it to be in its general tendency, it has undoubtedly the merit of much ingenuity and perfect precision. Mr Stephen underſtands the ſubject, and the ſcience to which it belongs, too well, to contend, like Lord Sheffield, that the Orders in Council were in themſelves of advantage. He contents himſelf with maintaining, that they had a tendency to relieve us from a greater evil;—that our trade with Europe was gone at any rate, in conſequence of the Berlin decree;—and that this act of retaliation might reſtore, but could not further impair it;—and finally, that the embargo, which cloſed our trade with America, was not occaſioned by these Orders; but, on the contrary, was moſt likely to be removed by a ſteady adherence to them. Without entering at large into a diſcuſſion which has now loſt its chief intereſt, we muſt beg leave to make one or two remarks on thoſe ſeveral propoſitions.

In the firſt place, we conceive it to be no longer a matter of doubt, that the iſſuing of theſe Orders, or the apprehenſion of their iſſuing, was one of the main cauſes of the embargo. In point of fact, it is eſtabliſhed, that the ſubſtance of the Orders was

* As if to cover over the inconſiſtency which we have complained of, Lord Sheffield introduces a violent invective againſt the American Intercourſe Act, repeating all the groſs miſrepreſentations of that meaſure which were firſt propagated by the ſhipping intereſt. Can he be ignorant that the act only made two changes in the monopoly law, of which one was nominal or formal merely, and the other a change in favour of the monopoly? The power of ſuſpending the law formerly exerciſed by colonial governors, was tranſferred to the Privy Council; and the barter of ſugar and coffee with the Americans, formerly allowed, was, we think very improvidently, prohibited.

was known at Philadelphia on the 10th or 12th of December; and the President's message, suggesting the embargo, was not delivered till the 18th. But the fact is officially confirmed by a letter from Mr Maddison to the American ambassador in this country, in which he expressly says, 'that, among the considerations which enforced the measure of the embargo, was the probability of such decrees as were issued by the British government on the 16th November, 1807;—the language of the British gazettes, with other indications, having left little doubt that such were meditated.' If any thing more were wanting to demonstrate that our Orders were among the main causes of the embargo, it can only be necessary to recollect, that America has made a distinct offer to withdraw the embargo, provided we would recal those Orders.

With regard, again, to the alleged destruction of our foreign trade by the Berlin decree, we have to observe, in the first place, that this decree was issued in November 1806, just twelve months before our Orders in Council; and that, in this intervening year, when the Berlin decree stood *alone*, our foreign trade is admitted to have been *greater than it had ever been at any former period*; while it is equally certain, that, in the year after the date of our Orders, that trade was diminished to the extent of no less than fourteen millions. The fact is, that, after a feeble effort to enforce the decree immediately after it was issued, it became a mere dead letter till the month of September or October 1807, when this effort was repeated, and a few vessels were captured or detained; in consequence of which, we are *now* * satisfied

* When, on a former occasion, (see vol. XII. p. 232, &c.) we denied these facts, and maintained that the Berlin decree had remained quite inefficient up to the date of our Orders, we proceeded altogether on the evidence brought by the petitioners against these Orders, and were not aware of the tenor, or even of the existence of the counter evidence produced by the ministry in their support. Mr Stephens, we are confident, will believe us upon our solemn averment; but, for the satisfaction of more ignoble partisans, we beg leave to observe, that while the evidence upon which we proceeded had been made *publici juris*, by being printed in a vendible pamphlet, the counter evidence was in the possession of members of the legislature only; and we rather think had not found its way to Edinburgh, in a single instance, if indeed it had even been printed at the time [April 1808] when the article now referred to was written. That the writer of that article was altogether ignorant of its import, and uncertain even as to its existence, is manifest from the language he uses in p. 233, where he says, that though he understands that Mr Perceval has *announced his intention to bring other evidence*, he cannot help relying entirely

fied that a considerable alarm was excited; the premium of insurance was raised; and some suspension of trade took place. The effect, however, had been precisely the same when the decree was originally issued in November 1806; but, after a momentary panic and alarm, the edict was disregarded both by us and by America; and the trade went on as if it had never been enacted. If it ever can be safe to reason from the past to the future, it was natural to have anticipated the same consequences in October 1807. Without waiting for this, however, and without allowing a moment's time to see how the late proceedings were received in America, our government issued the Orders in Council, which necessarily gave permanency and real effect to the decrees of the enemy, and increased and ensured all the evils by which they are said to have been suggested.

But, even supposing that our foreign trade had been, in a great measure, destroyed by the Berlin decree, how, we would ask Mr Stephen, was it to be *restored* by our Orders in Council? This, it may be remarked, is a question which is cautiously avoided by the learned gentleman through the whole course of his statement; and indeed the answer to it is decisive of the case before us. Our Orders could only prove beneficial to our trade, by producing an effect which, it must now be admitted, they *failed* completely to produce; and which we humbly conceive every man of common sense might have been aware that they had no chance of producing. They could only promote our trade by annoying and impoverishing the enemy, so far as to make him rescind *his* decrees, and restore neutral commerce to its original freedom. Now, it is certain that they did not produce this effect; and indeed it has always been inconceivable to us, that any person of a sane mind should have thought it possible that they should.

If this effect were not produced, the Orders could evidently do nothing to restore the trade which the Berlin decree had taken away; and the probability, or, we may say, the certainty, was, that they would take away a part of what that decree had left. The most favourable of all suppositions is, that America had acquiesced in these Orders, and agreed to conform herself to them at all points. If she had done so, however, it was evidently ten to one at least, that France would have gone to war with her; and there was an end, of course, to all the neutral trade of the world, and to our share in it. But even if France had still recognised her neutrality,

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tirely upon that now before him. This much it seems necessary to have said in explanation of our mistake, in point of fact. It must be evident, from what is stated in the text, that it has scarcely any effect upon the true and substantial argument of the case.

neutrality, there was an end, at any rate, of her trade to the Continent of Europe; and as it is admitted that at least two thirds of the goods she takes from us during the war are destined for the Continent, there was an end, at the same time, of two thirds of our trade with her, or, in other words, of two thirds of our whole foreign trade. Mr Stephen does not speak to this point either; which we humbly conceive to be conclusive against the policy of the Orders, even on the most favourable supposition as to their reception among the neutrals.

But the fact was, that they were not so received nor submitted to—and we must say, that it was utterly extravagant and absurd to imagine that they ever would be so submitted to. Instead of trading with us under these Orders, America lays on an embargo, and passes a nonintercourse law, which are enforced with a rigour hitherto unprecedented in the history of such regulations. The consequence is, that the year after these salutary and restorative orders are issued, our commerce suffers a diminution to the extent of at least fourteen millions Sterling; and that, although their natural operation was counteracted in that year, by a great variety of accidental circumstances which could not be reckoned on when the rash experiment was begun. We allude to the opening of Spain and Portugal, and our military expeditions in these countries,—the struggle made by Sweden, and the increased communication with Brasil and Spanish America,—not to mention the fact, that the year which gives this amount of loss, comprehends the period when shipments were made on both sides, before the operation of the embargo, and when hazards were run by neutral adventurers, upon the presumption that neither of the regulations would be enforced, as they actually were. Had it not been for these circumstances, our loss of trade in consequence of the Orders, would probably have been more than double of what it actually was;—and this boasted cure for our commercial embarrassments, would, in all probability, have reduced our whole foreign trade to a little wretched smuggling in Europe and America.

Such, it appears, too, was the slow and reluctant conviction of the very persons who projected this most perilous experiment. They saw that to persist in it was ruin; and accordingly, on the 26th of April 1809, they, with a very bad grace, rescinded, and utterly revoked these portentous proclamations; and substituted in their place a nominal blockade of *a part only* of the countries from which our trade is excluded. This measure was adopted several weeks after Mr Stephen had made his speech in support of the Orders; but, fortunately, before the printed report of it was ready for publication. He has an opportunity, therefore, in a postscript, to attempt to reconcile his arguments in behalf of the Orders,

Orders, with this practical and complete acknowledgment of their impolicy; and, dexterous and ingenious as he is, the task, it may easily be conceived, proves somewhat embarrassing. For our own parts, we are so well satisfied with the revocation, that we were not disposed to have inquired very strictly into any pretence with which our baffled experimentalists might have covered their retreat, had this not been rendered necessary by the tone of defiance with which the delusion is maintained in the work now before us.

The hint for Mr Stephen's plea of consistency is contained in the late Order itself. In consequence of 'diverse changes in our relations with foreign powers' since the date of the former Orders, it has become necessary, it is said, to alter them; and the alterations, it is subsumed, are merely such as were necessary to accommodate the said Orders, the principle of which it seems is not abandoned, to those new relations. Now, we would merely observe, 1st, that no changes had taken place which required any alteration on the old Orders, if the principle was not to be abandoned; and, 2dly, that the alterations adopted, amount to a total and radical change of system, and have no reference to the change of our relations with foreign powers.

The substance of the original Orders was, that neutrals should not trade with any country subject to the controul of France, or any country from which our trade was excluded by decrees similar to that of Berlin, without previously coming here, and paying for a license. Now, the only change which had taken place previous to April last was, that Spain had ceased to be under the controul of France, and that our trade was no longer excluded from its ports. It was not even necessary, therefore, we humbly conceive, to make any public declaration whatever, in order to exempt neutrals trading to Spain from the restriction of our Orders; but, at all events, nothing more than a simple declaration, that Spain was no longer in that situation, could possibly have been necessary, had it really been the intention of Government to adhere to the spirit and principle of the Orders of November 1807.

The fact is, however, that they have totally and entirely abandoned that principle; and that these Orders, with the whole system on which they proceeded, have been retracted and renounced, in the most complete and unequivocal manner. In the first place, the whole provisions for forcing neutrals to touch at this country, and to submit to a certain tax on their ulterior commerce, which formed the most characteristic, and by far the most offensive part of the original Orders, are entirely given up. In the second place, the order for condemning all vessels having a certificate of origin

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on board, the only other unprecedented and very oppressive part of our regulation, is also absolutely and totally rescinded; and, finally, the blockade, instead of extending to all the countries from which our trade is excluded, extends only to France, Holland, and the north of Italy. When such a relaxation is permitted in words, it is perfectly well known, that a still greater relaxation is reckoned on in practice. A partial blockade, without actual investiture, is always violated to a great extent, without any great hazard. A neutral clearing out for Ancona, which is without the limit, may easily run into Pezaro, which is within it, unless some of our cruisers be actually on the station; and so with all the other ports, except those of France herself, and the central districts. The Orders in Council, then, are utterly and entirely withdrawn; and the blockade, by which they have been replaced, might be admitted to be no more than an ordinary act of retaliation, if our situation was not such as to render retaliation on the enemy as ruinous to ourselves as to the neutrals.

The pamphlet of Mr Leckie consists of five short tracts, as he calls them, written in his dogmatical and pedantic manner; but evidently the work of an acute man, well informed upon most parts of his subject, accustomed to think for himself, and rather betrayed into error by his boldness, than by any ordinary defect of understanding. In these pages, he continues the view of foreign affairs published last year, and noticed in our Twenty-fifth Number. His present lucubrations are apparently more hasty, and contain much less of valuable matter, with a large portion of his former paradoxes.

He sets out with much general abuse of the present ministry, and seems, indeed, to be no great admirer of any of the measures pursued by any British statesman. Of the conduct of the Spanish war, it is certainly not easy to speak with too much disapprobation. But Mr Leckie is almost equally severe upon those who think peace with France is possible under any circumstances short of such a change of system as could only, we apprehend, be expected from a counter revolution, accompanied by a dismemberment of that empire. He concludes his remarks, or rather *dicta* upon this topic, with the following passage, which we extract, as very characteristic of his usual manner of writing.

'Those who have reflected maturely on the real position of the French government, and the conduct it has held in all negotiations for peace, must be convinced that it could never be sincere, and that it could not, from its situation, desire peace.

'If members of the House of Commons would give themselves time to reflect, we should not hear them making vague propositions on this topic: if they did reflect, their minds could not be occupied by that which, from the nature of things, is at the present moment impossible.

impossible. When we are told, in the same assembly, that we had better agree to bad conditions to-day, than worse to-morrow, and are put in mind of the buying of the sibylline books, * we must doubt the sincerity of the speaker, for his own credit: the sibylline books were to be obtained only by purchase. If Britain should ever be reduced to buy peace, she must acknowledge her own slavery. This reasoning is so unworthy of a Briton, that it is to be hoped it will not often be obtruded on so respectable an assembly.' p. 13.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to remind our readers that the argument here alluded to is altogether misconceived by Mr Leckie. No man has ever ventured to recommend that England should purchase a peace, because she cannot do without it—or should lower her tone, and humble her high spirit more this year than she did the last, in consequence of any losses she has sustained. But in treating with France respecting the affairs of our allies, it is quite obvious that the terms which we obtain for them must, in some degree, be governed by the fortune which has attended their exertions against the common enemy; and that we cannot expect to place Austria, Prussia and Sweden upon the same footing, now, on which we might fairly have hoped to secure them, before Vienna, Berlin and Finland were overrun by the French armies.

Having laid peace entirely out of the question, our author proceeds to trace the probable aggrandizement of France. She will, he thinks, make war upon Austria, † and wholly dismember that monarchy. The subjects of the imperial states have no attachment to their rulers; and, as long as the feudal institutions remain, no reason for making common cause with them. France, he says, is aware of this; and will take care to address herself to the vulnerable point of the House of Lorraine. The Turkish frontiers are covered with principalities in a state of nominal submission to the Porte, or open rebellion against its authority. Greece is ripe for insurrection; and the French army in Dalmatia will easily raise the standard for the people of that country. By popular commotion at Constantinople, the way will be opened for the French troops to the capital of this disjointed empire; and the Turk, being driven across the Hellespont, will establish himself in Bithynia; while the rest of Asia Minor, being under a powerful and rebellious pasha, Cara Osman Oglu, both that

* 'We are certainly not under the necessity of purchasing sibylline prophecies to enable us to foresee the national ruin arising from such miserable reasoning.'

† This work was published some months ago, just before the war broke out between France and Austria.

chief and the Sultan will become subservient to the intrigues of France; and, keeping one another in check, will be made the ministers of her further aggrandizement in the East. Our author is peculiarly indignant at the British government for having attempted, by a second mission, to conclude a treaty with the Porte, after Sir Arthur Paget's had failed. He conceives this to be a humiliating step; and predicts a repetition of failure and disgrace, which we rejoice to think has by no means occurred. He is offended chiefly because Turkey is weak, and may soon be destroyed by France; but, in our view of the subject, these are the very reasons why the pride of England may sleep secure in her negotiations with Turkey.

Mr Leckie's next step is an easy one. Persia has long been distracted by civil commotions; and is both occupied in part by rebellious chiefs, and surrounded by predatory tribes, whose incursions that government is too feeble to repress. Here, then, says our author, are materials in abundance for the '*divide et impera*;' and the influence of France in the councils of that weak power is sure to become paramount as soon as she enters fairly upon her favourite plan of Eastern conquest. He considers it as quite certain, that, this footing once established, Buonaparte will form a native army in Persia upon the model of our sepoy system; and, uniting with himself the Mahrattas, will be enabled to overthrow our empire in India. This event, Mr Leckie views as synonymous with the ruin of our finances, our commerce and our naval power. (p. 26. & *passim.*) And, as he holds it to be of little moment whether we quietly await such a catastrophe, or adopt imperfect measures for warding it off, he is very anxious, and, as usual, perfectly decided in recommending that a course of violent proceedings, formed upon the model of our late East Indian policy, should forthwith be applied to the court of Sheraz or Ispahan. One is really at a loss whether most to admire the thoughtlessness which dictates this exaggerated view of the evil, or the strange forgetfulness of principle that suggests the remedy. It is, however, only a particular application of his universal medicine, which he prescribes in the conclusion of his work, for all the ills the world is now labouring under.

The only way to counteract the progress of the French arms, according to Mr Leckie, is to adopt 'a plan of insular conquest.'— 'We constantly complain,' says he, 'that our population is inferior to our want of men; and yet we reject the only remedy in nature, which is, to increase our territories, and embody other nations in the pale of our own empire.' In short, that which France is by land, England should become by sea; and, if our author recommends the plan of alluring by benefits the people of the countries

tries which we are to seize from their lawful rulers, in preference to the attack of both government and people by mere force, it is only because he holds it to be the plan most likely to succeed, and that which the French themselves have commonly found the most practicable. In pursuing the details of this dignified system, and explaining in what cases it may be acted upon, he no doubt stops short rather prematurely; for unfortunately it is one of the evils attending such an abandonment of all principle, at least in the case of England, that extremely little is to be got by it; and, indeed, we fear this is the only reason why our rulers have not carried it into effect upon a large scale. However, as far as they have gone, Mr Leckie highly approves of their policy. The expedition to Copenhagen is, according to him, the only right thing they ever did. The giving up of Zealand, and their refusal to receive the homage of the people of Norway, which he believes was offered, were in his eyes the very height of folly; and he now calls upon them to seize the Greek islands,—invite over the Greeks from the Mainland,—and thus (for he can make a stride as well as most projectors) both establish an effectual check to the progress of the French views in Asia, Africa and Egypt, and prevent them from ever acquiring a naval power in the Mediterranean. Although, by entering into this exemplification, Mr Leckie has, more than any other person, displayed the emptiness of the scheme, he is only one of a numerous class of politicians who at present favour the adoption of this, or something nearly approaching to this, system of maritime aggression. In the sequel, we shall have an opportunity of considering its merits more fully.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers a summary of the reflections suggested by the present state of this country, with a view to its external relations. The prospects of our allies, and the policy which ought to be pursued towards them, and towards the common enemy, are the leading topics that enter into this discussion. In treating of them, we cannot promise the reader either any great novelty, or any immediate consolation. A repetition of the same fatal errors abroad, which began the destruction of the old established order of things—and of the lamentable blunders at home which prevented us from assisting Europe with our immense resources—naturally calls for a renewal of those remarks which we have upon former occasions submitted to the public—while it almost extinguishes the hope of any immediate good being now done, even by the most radical change of system. We are now beset, however, with dangers more imminently affecting the safety of this empire, than any with which it has heretofore been

menaced; and these it may yet be possible, by prudence and spirit, to turn away.

Of the states which France has either completely subdued, or so far mastered as to render them subservient to her purposes,—some are held in subjection by force alone, while others are willing instruments of her oppressions. The former class is more numerous than the latter; which, but for the impolicy of England and her allies, would have been small indeed. It is impossible to doubt, even if we had no direct information upon the subject,—that in Switzerland, where so much violence has been done to the freedom and national spirit of the people,—and in Holland, where, beside the disregard shown to all the political feelings of the inhabitants, the comforts of each individual have been abridged by the stagnation of trade, the name of French oppression must be as odious as it would be in England itself, should it ever unhappily be known amongst us. In those two countries the French are hated by all ranks and descriptions of men; and any change that would restore to the one her ancient constitutions, and to the other a pacific intercourse with England, would be hailed with universal acclamation. But both have suffered so severely by war, and are indeed so thoroughly overrun with French agents and troops, that they are probably the last spots of ground on the Continent where resistance to France can be expected to spring up, until something shall have happened elsewhere to render the experiment at once easy and sure.

The case of the Italian states is somewhat different. There, indeed, an abhorrence of the French prevails; but it is confined to the regular clergy and the lower orders of the people—with such of the other ranks as have suffered individually by exactions or changes in the government. The former classes are not very important, and are likely soon to follow the general feelings of their superiors: the latter are, of course, not very numerous. The secular clergy, and the middle ranks of the people have been considerable gainers, in most of the Italian states, by the change; and such of the higher classes as have not suffered by it, having only but a slender attachment to the antient order of things, would certainly risk nothing in any attempt to restore it. In Italy, however, as in most of the Continental states, there is a general feeling of dislike and dread of France; which, were the question capable of such a decision, would no doubt lead men to give their voices against having any further connexion with that powerful and restless neighbour. The petty states in the north of Germany, among which we must unhappily now reckon the Prussian monarchy, are only kept in subjection by the constant application of force. The temper of courts, reduced to a state of the most galling dependence, either upon a French prince,

prince, or an ambassador with paramount authority, may easily be conceived; and the symptoms of open revolt, which in many places manifested themselves, are a sufficient proof that the spirit of the people even goes before that of their superiors. Of Austria it is unnecessary to speak in this view of the subject. Whether the result of the present war shall be to leave the House of Hapsburg a nominal sovereignty, or to reduce it within the limits of a petty principality, and distribute its vast dominions amongst a set of new potentates, the people of those countries, and their rulers (by which we of course always mean the class of persons possessing great natural influence, without considering who may be accidentally placed at the head of affairs) will long continue hostile to French oppression, and disposed to avail themselves of any promising opportunity of regaining their independence. The same may be safely asserted of Spain, but in a much greater degree. If, which seems but too certain, France should establish her power in the Peninsula, she will long find it a source of weakness and distraction,—a province only to be kept in subjection by the same strong hand which subdued it,—and ready, at the first favourable moment, to shake off the yoke. But the states which may be formed out of the Austrian and Spanish monarchies will at first be almost as submissive to the conqueror as Switzerland or Holland. They may require, especially the Spaniards, more French troops to keep them in order; they may feel a greater degree of stifled indignation at their oppressions; they may be somewhat less calculating than the Dutch in their designs of resistance:—but we cannot have any doubt that, for some time at least, they will be averse to a renewal of the scenes through which their dependence shall have been secured; and will only venture to move when the course of events shall render success nearly certain.

Let us stop here, then, for a moment, to ask what prospect there is of an effectual resistance to France from the efforts of those states upon whom her yoke now presses with the greatest weight? Unless some unexpected change takes place in the posture of her affairs, there is not a chance even of any attempt being made by those countries to regain their independence. They are animated, indeed, by a common feeling of hatred towards their common tyrant; but they are separated—divided—insulated: they have no communication among themselves,—no confidence in each other: they are, like the subjects of a tyrant, whose cruelties have long made every mortal under his dominion ardently pray for his speedy downfall. He has no counsellor whom he can trust,—no support to expect from any part of his empire, were a struggle to commence: his forces are trifling in power, compared to the multitudes who are daily and hourly panting after his destruction: the

pretorian guards themselves hate him, and would willingly help to cut him off: the whole frame of his government is rotten, and wants but a breath to overthrow it;—yet still is he secure from insurrection, if endowed with a tolerable share of promptitude and courage. He has always strength enough to overwhelm a single individual, or a small knot of conspirators. Each man considers this; and reflects on the certain ruin that awaits himself, should he begin the resistance, and meet with no support;—the more than equal chance of deſtruction to which he expoſes himſelf, ſhould he commence a reſiſtance likely to ſucceed in the end. Even among the guards of the tyrant, a ſimilar feeling prevails. No man truſts his fellow. A partial inſurrection ſpeedily defeated, from time to time ſtrengthens the common apprehenſion; or a plot, prematurely diſcloſed, increaſes the mutual ſuſpicions of all claſſes. A general belief prevails, that things will continue as they are at preſent; and that the ruling power will always ſucceed. And thus are deſpotiſms perpetuated amidſt the univerſal execrations of mankind, nearly by the operation of the ſame feelings which ſupport the moſt regular, enlightened, and beneficent ſyſtems of government, that have been reared up to bleſs the ſpecies. It would be as chimerical to expect a mutiny among the vaſſal ſtates of France, who are the moſt impatient of her yoke, as amongſt the inhabitants of Nantz and Bourdeaux, or the conſcripts of the years 1808 and 1809. In making this compariſon, we are indeed putting the caſe much more ſtrongly againſt France than the facts warrant; for, with the exception of Holland, and the ſtates into which the conſcription has been introduced, either immediately, or by means of large requiſitions of men made to their governments,* the changes effected by the French invaſion have been favourable to the individual happineſs of the inhabitants; ſo that the hatred of France is liable to conſiderable diminution, inaſmuch as the national antipathies, and ſpirit of independence, are gradually undermined by the

* We believe it will be found, upon mature conſideration of the ſubject, that this is the only line which can ſafely be drawn. The effects of a number of the inhabitants of any country ſerving with the French armies, and ſharing in their conquests, are, no doubt, to be eſtimated as tending ſomewhat to unite that country with France, and to make it ſhare in her enmities towards other nations; but, at the utmoſt, this is only a deduction to be made from the great and permanent effects of the conſcription, in implanting a rooted antipathy to French tyranny, wherever that moſt odious of all oppreſſions is introduced. Where this is the caſe, no beneficial changes, which can be effected in any other reſpect, will ever go far to counteract its conſequences, or reconcile the people to their new lot.

the ſolid benefits which the change of maſters has conferred. Thus, while the Dutch from the ruin of their trade, and the Genoeſe and Wirtembergers from the conſcription, feel an unmingled antipathy to the French oppreſſions, becauſe the national feelings, and the intereſts of individuals, concur to produce this ſentiment, the Hungarians, ſhould they fall under the dominion of a French chief, will feel their diſlike to the change mitigated by the boon which the policy of the conqueror will not fail to beſtow along with it—a relief from feudal oppreſſions, and from the preſent galling ſyſtem of commercial reſtraints.

Thus far we have been conſidering the ſituation of thoſe countries which are held in ſubjection to France by force, contrary to their intereſts and inclinations. It is unqueſtionable, however, and much to be lamented, that there are others which yield a very willing obedience to her commands; and although the number of theſe, as well as their alienation from the good cauſe, has been greatly increaſed by the impolitic conduct of England and her allies, there are ſeveral whoſe natural leaning is towards the enemy. Among theſe Ruſſia ſtands firſt. Her diſtance from France, her vaſt ill-peopled territory, her want of ſea-coaſt, and the deſire which ſhe has long felt to ſupply this deficiency—a deſire which cannot be gratified by cooperating with England;—her jealouſy of Auſtria:—Theſe, and other circumſtances, obviouſly ſuggeſt themſelves as likely, in general, to incline that great unwieldy empire to cooperate with the enemy, and league with him in ſpoiling the reſt of Europe, however accidental occurrences might, for a time, give a better direction to its policy. From ſuch conſiderations it was, that we long ago ventured to predict a ſpeedy termination of the alliance between Ruſſia and England. The reader who may do us the honour of referring to our Number for January 1807, will find a full ſtatement of our views upon this point. It was publiſhed in the midſt of very confident hopes, prevalent, as uſual, of victories over France by our Ruſſian allies; but thoſe whom that ſtatement might ſatisfy, could neither be diſappointed by the progreſs of the French arms during the remaining part of the campaign, nor ſurpriſed at the termination of the alliance which followed. Soon after the peace of Tilſit, indeed, the operation of the circumſtances to which we have alluded, received a moſt powerful ſupport from the wretched policy that induced England to attack a ſtate placed under the eſpecial protection of Ruſſia,—and at once to loſe all chance of reclaiming the court of St Peterſburgh from French influence,—and to convert a friendly nation, naturally hoſtile to France, and jealous of Ruſſia, into a bitter enemy. From that unfortunate period, may moſt probably be dated, not only the hoſtile diſpoſition of Denmark, but the cordial cooperation of

Ruſſia with France; but we cannot deny the poſſibility of a ſimilar reſult having followed from the temptations of Turkiſh ſpoil, independently of the alienation occaſioned by our expedition to Copenhagen. This alliance is likely to continue—at leaſt as long as the Auſtrian monarchy remains undivided—and until, Ruſſia, having got as much in Turkey as ſhe can from the profits of the copartnerſhip, a difference ariſes about the further diſtribution of the ſpoil. It does not appear certain, that, even then, the ambition of France will be pointed towards a Ruſſian throne. But, conſidering how little that power has ſhown itſelf capable of effecting for the ſalvation of Europe—how wretched the ſtate of its ſubjects is under the preſent goverment—how trifling an acquiſition of ſtrength the common enemy could expect to obtain from the entire poſſeſſion of its reſources; we acknowledge that we ſhould contemplate with great compoſure any change which might lay the foundation of future improvement, and ſcatter the forces of France over the dominions of the Czars.

The extreme unpopularity of a ruinous war,—a diſlike, unfortunately not without foundation, of their late monarch,—and an old attachment to French connexions, has given France conſiderable influence over the councils of Sweden. The war must be viewed, in that country, as intimately connected with the Engliſh alliance; and the ſtill greater antipathy to Ruſſia will probably be gratified by France, at a trifling expenſe to Sweden. To permit Ruſſia to ſeize upon any conſiderable part of the Swediſh territories, is certainly very far from the policy of our enemy; and he will moſt probably ſuffer the new King to redeem the greater part of his dominions, by ſerving in the war upon our trade.

The attack upon Bavaria, which ſignalized the commencement of the third coalition war,—and the rank to which that ſtate has been raiſed by France, and which it muſt immediately reſign, were the antient order of things reſtored;—theſe are ſufficient pledges of its good-will to the French cauſe, until a combination of circumſtances takes place, which ſhall enable it, without ſacrificing its acceſſions of territory, to aſſert its independence. As for the Tyroleſe ſubjects of that new kingdom, they retain their attachment to their Auſtrian maſters with a diſintereſted generoſity altogether aſtoniſhing, when we reflect on the treatment which they formerly experienced. Such of our readers as chooſe to compare the facts ſtated in the ſketch of this brave and loyal people, given in our Number for January 1806, with the noble efforts which they have recently made, will be diſpoſed to admit, that, under particular circumſtances, men act without any view, either to the purſuit of their private intereſt, or the gratification of their juſt reſentments. It is from inſtances of this kind that we derive the only faint glimmering

mering of hope which ſtill remains to us, that the Hungarians alſo may forget both their intereſts and their reſentments, and only remember that Francis fills the throne of 'their King, Maria Tereſa.'

With respect to the Poles and Greeks, we apprehend they may be considered as natural friends of France—or of whatever power steps forward to attack their oppressors. She cannot, indeed, look for a very active assistance from the divided people of Poland; but, if there is any truth in the principles upon which we have stated that the rest of the Austrian monarchy will form several principalities radically inimical to France, we must equally conclude that the provinces taken from Poland will operate as a diversion in her favour. Indeed, it is not easy to perceive why the restoration of the Polish monarchy should not once more be attempted. In as far as it was tried two years ago, it certainly failed: but the Poles were then called upon to act offensively in the first instance; and even this demand could only be urged to the Prussian part of Poland with any prospect of success. Austria was at peace with France; and the Russian division, from the similarity of the nations, and the maintenance of the seignorial rights,* was always the most peaceably disposed towards its new masters. Now, when the Saxons may be compelled at a moment's notice to give up the dutchy of Warsaw; when Austria may, in all probability, be forced to yield Gallicia—and an equivalent in Turkey may induce Russia to quit her share of the spoil; when no immediate exertions are required on the part of the Poles, and the reestablishment of their country would be the work of a little diplomatic arrangement; no one could be surprised at witnessing an event which would give France a strong hold in the east of Europe, upon the confines of the Russian territory. From the Greeks, she may in all probability receive more immediate assistance; and, although the speculators in Greek empires, who have so long been preaching in this country a sort of crusade against the Turks, overrate most extravagantly the powers of that people, either to throw off the yoke at present, or to form hereafter a great monarchy; there can be no doubt that they would, to a certain degree, cooperate with any regular army which should appear

* The Russians alone retained the Polish peasantry in a state of villenage. It is easy to imagine how the sudden abolition of that tenure must have alienated the nobles from the Austrian government; and, this without making it in any thing like the same proportion popular among the inferior orders. In fact, the first promulgation of the new law, displeased lord and peasant almost equally. It is well known to have occasioned a great desertion of the peasantry to the Russian side of the line.

appear in their country in sufficient force to meet the Ottoman troops; and would, if formed into a separate state, contribute materially to the resources of their French and Russian masters.

It must be confessed, then, that the prospect is at present sufficiently gloomy for the continent of Europe and for England, in so far as her interests are connected with the fortunes of her neighbours. France is surrounded either with states who murmur in silence, and vent their indignation at her oppressions in solitary and impotent curses; or with nations favourably disposed to her, willing to aid her iniquities, and well pleased to share in their fruits. This calamitous state of things has been brought about by the mutual jealousies of the great continental powers,—by their want of principle towards their weaker neighbours, and by their domestic corruptions—the profligacy of their governments—their obstinate infatuated resistance to those improvements which alone could have opposed an effectual barrier to the conquests of the French Revolution. These are the remote causes of the almost universal dominion which has crowned the darings and the crimes of our enemy. But we must look nearer home for his accomplices—for those who have betrayed the Continent into his hands, when they might have saved it by their prudence from the certain destruction of premature and insulated efforts—united it by the justice and forbearance of their councils—and rendered it powerful assistance by a disinterested and generous application of their resources. Placed at a distance from the petty quarrels of the different courts; exempt from all suspicion of ambitious views; destined by her situation to derive advantage only from peaceful intercourse with every neighbour; forbidden, by the nature of things, to reap any benefit from that intercourse, without conferring an equal good in return; enjoying a high character among all nations for honour and generosity; too weak by land to excite any jealousy; by sea too powerful to have any rival; capable, by her resources, of turning the balance when it hung even, though unable to act alone:—England, at the beginning of the last war, stood in the very situation which the fancy of a statesman would have selected, had he been required to choose one for a common umpire of national disputes!—And how does she stand now, when an account of her talent is demanded of her?—and by what steps has she fallen from her eminence, and made herself an accessory to the subjugation of Europe? Let us not shrink from this reckoning; for it is only by retracing those steps, that any hope remains of regaining the situation she has lost, and of preserving a rallying point for national independence in better times.

The war began against the French revolution in aid of Austria and Prussia, who had attacked France with the avowed object

ject of dictating a form of government to its inhabitants, and with a design, perfectly well understood, of seizing upon some of its provinces. Admitting that the former purpose was justifiable, every admixture of the latter should have been scrupulously guarded against; and the only way at once to accomplish the one, and to disavow and banish all thoughts of the other, was to place the exiled family and nobles at the head of the combined operations. England should never have become a party to any invasion of France, which was not accompanied by this pledge of the purity of the principles in which it originated. Nor should she have expected to succeed in the undertaking, by measures which must of necessity unite every class of men in France against her. Accordingly, the allies were soon reduced to act on the defensive; and a coalition, formed upon selfish grounds, was dissolved by the first serious reverses.

But Austria, though deserted by Prussia, and driven out of the Netherlands, was still entire; and England, though she had failed in her attempts to rescue Holland, was possessed of resources which, in the hands of a bold and sagacious leader, might have checked the victories of her enemy, and enabled her ally to retreat with honour from the contest. But then began the reign of contradiction and imbecility.—Then came into vogue the doctrine of *British objects*, and the practice of fighting blindfolded. We no longer dared to hope for a counter revolution in France; we discovered, that the more she was attacked, the stronger she grew: yet we were afraid of allowing Austria to make peace; and, while we pretended that she was continuing the war to regain her lost provinces, and make a barrier for Holland, we avoided every measure which could effectually assist her in the pursuit of these great objects. The burning of a few ships at Toulon,—the capture of Corsica and Minorca,—a descent to destroy sluices at Ostend,—the easy conquest of some islands in the West Indies,—the seizure of other settlements with the pleasing approbation of their owners,—the Cape—Ceylon—Pondicherry; or, as if to show that it was the importance only, and not the difficulty of the enterprize, which deterred us from invading France directly—a long, hopeless, costly and murderous war against climate and pestilence in St Domingo:—These were the objects on which the whole of our force was squandered; while the enemy was, in a single morning well spent on the Adige or the Rhine, redeeming all those petty losses as surely as if he had extorted from us the treaty of surrender, and at the same time causing our allies to tremble on their thrones. Hence that character which we began to acquire, among foreign nations, of selfish policy,—of only intermeddling with their concerns when somewhat might be got by it

for

for ourselves,—of looking at the balance of power with eyes rather better accustomed to the scales of a counter,—of always loving to drive a little trade, happen what would to the cause of Europe,—of hankering constantly after some dirty bit of gain—something in the sugar and ship line—and undervaluing, as quite unprofitable, whatever operations of the copartnery only tended to the discomfiture of the enemy, without making a figure in the balance-sheet of our own books. Hence, too, another imputation, equally well founded, (but, to the country of Marlborough and Wolfe as galling as it was new), that whatever England might do by sea, on shore she was insignificant; for, in truth, our arms were only successful, where conquest was equally easy and useless; and we had always so many irons in the fire—such an infinity of small jobs going on at once—that when, by some unaccountable accident, we, upon one or two occasions, tried to carry a point of real difficulty, we failed, in a manner if possible more disgraceful for ourselves than it was injurious to the common cause.

During the sad period in question, our activity was boundless and incessant. Indolence and parsimony are perhaps the only faults of which we could never be accused. The bustle of our dockyards was dreadful. The pressgang never ceased from troubling. The marches and countermarches of troops gave the country every outward appearance of war. We had recruiting, and drafting, and balloting, in perpetual succession—loans and taxes by the dozen. Scarce a session passed without some new military system; and we generally invented at the rate of two systems of finance per annum. Nor did all this preparation end in nothing. Our harbours were under an almost weekly embargo. There was as regularly 'the *secret expedition*,' as if it were some part of the island. Our little armies were constantly coasting from port to port, and sailing and returning, and whisking about from shore to shore with incredible nimbleness, and crossing one another, and playing at cross purposes, in the most innocent and affecting manner possible;—there was firing of guns, too; and ringing of bells; and one eternal interchange of gratulatory messages—with votes of thanks and pensions—and cabals about appointments, and disputes about islands;—so that any person who had suddenly been transported to this country from some distant region, and saw every thing except our gazettes, would infallibly have concluded, that every nerve of a vast empire was straining for the general attack of an enemy—that our endeavours were to meet the adversary—that we were not making all this bustle to get out of their way—and that our success was as important as our efforts deserved.—Alas! we were all the while crushing flies with a steam-engine, and puncturing an elephant with a needle!

The

The opportunity which a new ally and a second coalition afforded, was rendered still more inviting, by the symptoms of weakness and mismanagement which appeared in the affairs of France. Instead of trusting the fortunes of the league to the cordial cooperation of Russia and Austria, and resting secure in the superiority of the Calmuck to the French generals, because a single good commander had appeared among the Russians,—it would have well become England to have sent a large army, either into Germany or Italy, for the sole object of fighting against the French armies, without regarding the petty squabbles of Vienna and St Petersburgh. But we were busy in Lisbon and Surinam just at that particular time! and, when we sent an army to Holland, we took good care that it should land at the greatest possible distance from the scene of action, and not until the tide had begun to turn against our allies. The enemy, however, was alarmed:—he did not then know us quite so well;—he guessed, from our preparations, that we meant something, and was apprehensive we might really intend to operate a diversion. He found we were safe in North Holland!—And, leaving a few troops to watch us, with the assistance of the Dutch army, he quietly pursued the destruction of the second coalition.

Notwithstanding our disasters in Holland, an excellent army was assembled—unrivalled in courage—respectable in point of discipline—most ably commanded—fitted beyond all others for landing at any point of the enemy's coast—capable of being greatly increased in numbers, without inconvenience or delay. The contest in Italy was critical between our allies and the enemy;—and therefore our armament remains quietly at home, until that is decided: and, much about the time when the last struggle is making for Austria within a short march of the Adriatic, away sails our excellent army to Malta and Egypt! —as if our fleet had not sufficiently settled the fate of these spots two years before, and as if the French army could be better employed than by wasting their strength in fruitless expeditions to the East. The glorious result, indeed, of the campaign in Egypt, has indirectly done inestimable service to us by improving our troops. It has given a new character to our army —a character which, as far as depends on themselves, they have since more than supported. Perhaps it has begun the revival of our fame as a military power; but the remark is not the less obvious, that as much advantage might have been gained in these respects from operations of real importance to the great interests of the nation and its allies—while it is lamentable to reflect, that, so far from turning the military renown and strength thus gained, to a better account in our subsequent schemes, we have been almost systematic in pursuing the same infatuated course; and gaining,

gaining, from each exertion of our force, only some dearbought improvement to our troops—squandering their valour upon projects where success was either hopeless or unavailing.

Towards the latter end of the war, of which we are surveying the outline, those pretensions of maritime right were advanced, which have since been revived with such fatal additions, and which laid the foundation of the enmity ever since shown by this country to neutral nations. With respect to the question of strict right, there is very little doubt that we had the best of the argument,—to the extent, at least, to which it was pushed in 1800 and 1801. But so very little could be gained by the fullest exercise of those rights, that it is impossible sufficiently to regret the stirring of the question. Our character and our popularity with the rest of the world has suffered incalculably—every suspicion relative to our narrowness and selfishness has been confirmed. Among ourselves, too, such extravagant notions have been raised up of maritime rights, and of the importance of asserting them to their full extent, that the prevailing opinion seems to be divided between those who think the maintenance of them essential to our welfare, and those who think our honour requires it, whether useful or not. So that, until the war broke out in Spain, it was difficult to discover any difference between the hatred which was bestowed on neutral nations, and that which was reserved for our enemies. It might even be suspected, at one time, that the former was the stronger feeling of the two. But, in all this, we have been liable to any charge, rather than that of inconsistency. The mistake of what we had a right to do, for what it was expedient to attempt, has prevailed through our whole conduct (with the exception of that disgraceful enterprise in which right and expediency were equally disregarded); and they who could prefer a sugar colony to the interests of one ally—and an island with a good harbour, to the friendship of another—were surely acting like themselves, when, in attempting to deprive France of a little hemp and iron, they gave her a permanent influence over all neutral and maritime powers.

After the dependence of the Continent had been well nigh secured,—when no chance of a favourable alteration remained but in a change of system,—when it became manifest, that France could only be resisted by such reforms in the neighbouring states, as might enable them to draw forth all their resources against her—that a long interval of repose was absolutely necessary for this purpose—and that a renewal of hostilities on the part of one power, without the cordial cooperation of the rest, was only devoting to destruction the little of national independence that was left;—England, seduced by the fatal delusion, that fighting is expedient

pedient as often as just cause of war exists, first broke the peace herself; and soon after drew Russia, and, through her influence, Austria, into the quarrel. The history of the third coalition, as far as we were concerned, differs but little from that of the two first,—except that it was from the beginning much more hopeless. Whatever chance of being useful to the common cause the exigences of our allies held out, we threw away with an improvident selfishness, to all appearance confirmed, and even increased by habit. The march of the Austrian armies into Bavaria, was the signal for a British force making sail to the Cape of Good Hope. The struggle, at first doubtful, between the Archduke and the French in Lombardy, was witnessed by our army at the respectful distance of Naples, where a truly British object was to be accomplished, the expulsion of an old ally from his dominions. And another English expedition arrived at the Weser, just in time to learn that peace had been dictated to Austria upon the Danube. An infatuation, hitherto unmatched even in our own history, soon after revived the war in Prussia; and, for once, England had no further share in the ruin of a coalition, than by not having sufficiently exerted herself to prevent its formation. At no one moment of this short but fatal conflict, did any opportunity present itself of taking a part in it with the least prospect of success; and, although the expeditions in the Levant were rather formed upon the old model, the utter impossibility of acting with effect in the North, and the advantage of detaching the Porte from its French connexion, might be pleaded in behalf of those schemes, * while the prudent reserve of our strength in other quarters for a favourable opening, in defiance of ignorant and thoughtless clamour, was an earnest of a wiser policy than had for many years been exhibited by the English government.

These prospects, however, were of short duration. A change of men speedily restored the reign of activity, with all its expeditions. But here a difficulty occurred. There were no more coalitions to be had; so we could not any longer desert our allies, and starve the common cause for some trifling object of our own. We contrived, however, to pass the time in plundering one friendly power at a vast expense of money, and an incalculable loss of character; and in quarrelling with another, to get rid of our commerce also. At length an accident, equally unexpected and auspicious, threw into our hands the means of rendering a far greater service to the Continent, and striking a more deadly blow at

* The failure of the expeditions in question, is well known to have arisen from the unaccountable mistakes of the officers employed to command them.

at French influence, than the success even of all our coalitions could have accomplished. How we wasted this precious opportunity—how, by a conduct strictly conformable to all that was weakest in our past transactions, we suffered this season of promise to pass away unimproved, has already been so fully demonstrated in our last Number, and must indeed be so fresh in the remembrance of every one, that we shall gladly spare ourselves the mortification of again handling the subject.

After this opportunity was lost, when the affairs of the Peninsula appeared to be desperate; when the blame of having done worse than nothing was, by turns, laid upon the Convention at Cintra—the lukewarm dispositions of the people—the dissensions of the Juntas—the want of a central government—the season of the year—the weather—in short, upon any thing that might help the real authors of the mischief to shift it off themselves; when, as is usual in human affairs, men, wise by the event, united in condemning every thing that had been done, and in wishing that it were to do over again, secure that all past errors would be retrieved, but not venturing to hope for so unlikely an opportunity,—suddenly the rare felicity was bestowed upon us, of repeating our experiments from the beginning, and with all the benefits of our past experience. The operations of the enemy were suspended in the Peninsula. It was manifest, that while the war lasted in Germany, he could send no more troops to Spain. Every man was satisfied, that regular armies alone could stand against the French forces in that country. The chance was once more afforded us of driving them out, and then leaving the defence of the territory to Spanish hands—or, of assisting the common cause where our enemy was deciding its fate, and contributing, by a great effort, to the emancipation of Spain, as well as the rest of Europe, in Germany. It may be difficult to determine which of these plans was the wisest. Some persons might think that no effort of ours could have turned the scale in favour of Austria, during the present awful campaign; and that our forces should have been concentrated in Spain;—others may be of opinion, that all the force we could muster in the south of Europe (upwards of 40,000 men), sent up the Adriatic as soon as the war broke out in Bavaria, might have got into the rear of the French army immediately after the memorable battle of Aspern;—while nearly 50,000 more might have been employed in the Baltic, either to prevent the junction of the Russians, or to land in the north of Germany, and encourage Prussia and the insurgents. A third view of the subject may possibly have its supporters,—that we could neither decide the contest in Austria, nor drive the French out of Spain; and they who hold this opinion, must object to any armament whatever,—

must

must counsel us to abandon Spain, and to keep our troops at home.

These three lines of conduct are intelligible and consistent. But, how did the English government act,—wise by the experience of the last war, and, above all, of the first Spanish campaign? It recollected those fatal transactions,—not to avoid them, but to copy them with absolute servility. It followed *none* of the plans just described, but took a little bit of each. It despaired of Austria, but threatened a trifling diversion in her favour after she was subdued; and has probably, before this time, turned that into a ship-plunder expedition. It did not quite despair of Spain; but sent an army to Portugal, too large for any opposition in that country—infinitely too small for the liberation of the Peninsula. It adopted the only plan which could be entirely wrong, and was sure wholly to fail.

We confess that, although the second of the schemes which we have mentioned appears the most alluring, considering the position in which our armies actually were, and the limited time allowed for executing it, the first seems to us the most judicious. We had 30,000 men in quiet possession of Portugal, with the south of Spain occupied by the only good army of the natives, and Cadiz or Gibraltar to retire upon. From Sicily we might have sent above 10,000 more excellent troops; and from England near 50,000,—more completely appointed, perhaps, than any armament in the world. Whatever might be the final issue of the war in Austria, this formidable army would, in all probability, have had time, during the struggle of that gallant and ill-fated monarchy, to overpower all resistance in Spain, and drive the French beyond the Pyrenees. But if even this could not have been effected,—or if the Pyrenees are indefensible, and the utmost that our whole force could accomplish was a temporary expulsion of the enemy; surely they are frantic who have sent one wing of an army to attempt the same enterprise—who have wasted 30,000 men upon a service above the powers of thrice the number. Nothing in calculation can be more evident, than that we have either done too little or too much during the precious breathing-time which our Spanish allies have so unexpectedly had; and if the German campaign is now at an end, the total ruin of the great cause, which has made every free heart throughout the world beat high, during a long year of anxious expectation, can only be retarded by a positive miracle.

We have now surveyed the present hopeless state of affairs, and traced the steps which successively led to it. There remains the less painful task of inquiring, by what efforts those steps may be retraced, in so far as it is yet possible to ameliorate the condition of our allies, by any exertions of ours; or to pro-

vide for the safety of the only empire which still continues free and entire. The conduct of this country, indeed, should now be pointed solely to the two great objects of obtaining such an influence in the minds of men as may hereafter be turned to good account,—and of providing for its own safety. The means best adapted for the attainment of both these ends, are happily the same.

And, first of all, we must lay our account with the establishment, or rather the confirmation of the paramount influence of France in every part of the Continent. For the present, at least, this is unavoidable. We have in a great measure brought it upon our allies and ourselves;—and it must be borne with patience. Many changes in the distribution of territory must be expected. Kingdoms will be broken down into dukedoms—and electorates, or principalities, consolidated into kingdoms. Monarchs will be threatened, perhaps deposed; and upstarts raised to their thrones at the will of the conqueror. A nominal war will be proclaimed against England in every part of Europe; and attempts to abridge her commerce with the Continent, though often failing, will be constantly repeated, until its total amount is sensibly diminished. If we are wise, however, there are limits beyond which this branch of the French power can hardly reach. In the mean time, as the repeated attempts to assail us in this direction are quite inevitable, and ought not to discompose us; so, neither should their partial success create any undue alarms. We must lay our account with finding the rest of Europe no longer free; and accommodate our conduct to the novelty of our circumstances. All direct intercourse with our allies being of course at an end, it is needless to observe, that we should cautiously abstain from any new attempts at stirring them up against France. Such attempts, if successful, could only lead to a wanton waste of blood and treasure—render the sway of the enemy more intolerable, and our own character more odious. We must be on our guard against listening to fables of insurrections. An appearance of impatience under the yoke may from time to time show itself in different parts of the Continent; but, far from such single and divided efforts tending to its emancipation, they must arm the tyrant with new powers, and only ruin their instigators. With respect to Spain, surely the common feelings of humanity, as well as the soundest views of policy, should incline us to wish, that when the struggle of that gallant people is over, peace may as speedily as possible be restored to them. Their spirit has already been sufficiently exerted, to secure them a reign of mitigated severity. For the present, this is all they can expect. It would be bloodthirsty and cowardly in us to foment petty insurrections, after the only contest is at an end from which any good can spring, in the present unfortunate

unfortunate state of things. Nor will it be of any avail to cry out against this doctrine as pusillanimous, and to abuse us as recommending a base submission to France. France has conquered Europe. This is the melancholy truth. Shut our eyes to it as we may, there can be no doubt about the matter. We shall afterwards consider how far a better prospect opens in the back ground; but, for the present, peace and submission must be the lot of the vanquished.

But it is not only consistent, both with right principles and with our interest, to avoid stirring up the conquered states against France, and even, if we have an opportunity, to discourage any premature resistance on their part:—we ought also, in the conduct of our own warfare against that country, constantly to keep in mind, that our whole quarrel is with her; and that with her vassals we have no ground of difference, unless their interests and inclinations are identified with hers—or unless no other means remain of affecting her strength materially, and providing substantially for our own security. It is not enough, that, at her instigation, the Tagus should be shut against us; or even that the court of Lisbon should break off all friendly intercourse with us. A wise policy would not, on this account, prescribe a blockade, and still less a bombardment, which can only tend to distress the inoffensive people—the unwilling instruments of our enemy's malice. Even if a few ships might be got at the expense of such measures, it is, in all probability, better policy to preserve our character for generosity, and take the ample chance which remains of capturing them when they shall venture out to sea. Of course, no rule of this kind can be laid down absolutely. A fleet might be so large, and arsenals might be capable of fitting out so formidable an armament against us, that when they had fallen under the enemy's controul, it might be necessary to attempt their seizure, though at the risk of inflicting great calamities upon the place where they are situated. But if England has recourse to such extremities only when the magnitude of the object justifies them, her plea of necessity will be generally recognized; and her character will not suffer in the estimation of the world. Judging by these principles, the alleged object of the expedition which has been so long preparing does not seem liable to reprehension, provided that all hopes of assisting our allies are gone, and that an attack upon Holland forms no part of the plan. If we can now do nothing better, the destruction of the fleet in the Scheldt may be worth our while; because the expense of the enterprize may not be much greater than the cost of blockading the mouth of that river. But the preparation of this armament, the greatest ever sent from our ports, for an object so exclusively

British, and confined within so narrow a sphere, at a moment when it might have decided the fate of Austria or of Spain, forms one of the gravest charges against the management of our military affairs. For the rest, it scarcely deserves to be remarked, that, *cæteris paribus*, enterprizes of this kind should be directed against the arsenals of France, in preference to those even of her most obedient and willing vassals;—to Brest,* for example, rather than to Cronstadt; but much rather to Cronstadt than to Ferrol or Cadiz, supposing them in the enemy's hands. In truth, Russia has been unaccountably spared in our plans of maritime warfare. We may be assured, that she is completely with France in the present contest. The merchants of St Petersburgh and Riga, and many of the landed proprietors, are certainly favourable to an English connexion; but those classes go for nothing in a country like Russia; and, though they did not, any attack upon the arsenals, while they are discontented with the measures of their government, could not greatly affect their feelings towards us. In all probability, such a step was the only one by which any prospect could be afforded of detaching Russia from France during the present war in Austria. All such schemes, however, when planned without any view of making a diversion in favour of a general attack, are of small importance; and, now that war on the Continent is over, nothing could be more unwise than to extend them beyond those arsenals, from which an immediate danger to this country may be apprehended. It is by conciliatory, or at least inoffensive conduct, even towards the confederates of France, that we can now best defeat her purposes; and to oppose her—not them—should be the great end and aim of all our plans.

This leads us to consider the only serious risk to which the subjugation of the Continent has exposed us—the war which it enables France to make upon our trade. It may be expected that she will speedily cause orders to be issued for the exclusion of the British flag from all the ports of Europe. But these will be executed very imperfectly in some countries; in others, they will be little more than a form and a name; in none will they be rigorously enforced—except where French troops are stationed in great numbers—or where, by some violence of our own, we may render the inhabitants as hostile as the French themselves. The temptations to evade orders of this description are so strong, that connivance may, in general, be expected on the part of the government;

* Antwerp comes properly under the same description; but it cannot be attacked without commencing operations against Zealand, which is certainly a drawback.

vernment; and we are always sure to find the people in favour of the evasion. Even in Holland, the whole French power has for years been maintaining an unequal conflict with the interests of merchants and consumers; in whose favour the interests of the civil functionaries almost always, and of the French soldiers themselves not unfrequently, are found. To execute similar mandates in the Adriatic or the Baltic, where comparatively few French agents of either description are scattered, amounts to an impossibility. The armies of France could not exclude our ships effectually from the ports of Spain alone, were they all distributed along the coasts of the peninsula. But a very considerable diminution of our trade must be occasioned by these attempts; and that which can no longer be carried on in British bottoms, will be transferred to neutrals.

But, even if we were to suppose that our exclusion from the Continent was complete, and that the whole trade between this country and the rest of Europe passed through the hands of neutrals, it does not appear to us that any very ruinous consequences would follow. Our shipping, instead of sailing the whole way from England to the foreign markets, would be employed in carrying goods to and from some convenient entrepôts; while the other part of the voyage would be performed by neutrals,—or, if we as well as they chose to connive at it, by the shipping of the continental ports themselves. We should retain the whole of our colonial and coasting trade—and should carry to and from our neutral customers a great deal more than we now do—more, *to wit*, in proportion to the tonnage which they would be employing in the trade between the entrepôts and the Continent. Thus, instead of carrying goods in 1000 tons of British shipping direct to Trieste, we should employ 500 tons in carrying the same goods at two trips to Malta or Gibraltar; from whence 500 tons of American shipping would continue the voyage to the Adriatic—while the other 500 tons of British shipping would naturally occupy the place of the same American tonnage displaced from the trade between England and America. In order to facilitate such a change, the possession of Minorca might probably be found useful—as well as of Milo, or some other island in the Levant (see No. XXI., Review of Semple's Travels);—and Heligoland will prove advantageous, in the same point of view, for the trade of the North. The possession of Sicily * for such purposes, when we have Malta, seems

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* The expense of our military establishment there, is a serious evil; and its being locked up on so useless a service has, during the late critical times, been still more unfortunate. We have done more than enough for the acquittance of our debt to the Sicilian court: if

altogether unneceſſary;—and our own coaſts are ſo conveniently ſituated for France and Holland, that very little temptation is preſented by any of the Dutch iſlands.

As long, then, as a neutral carrier remains, we are ſecure from any ſerious loſs of trade or navigation, even if the excluſion of our flag from the Continent were far more effectually accompliſhed than in all likelihood it ever can be. The enemy will therefore proceed a ſtep further, and cauſe his vaſſal ſtates to adopt the famous Berlin decree, or at leaſt ſo much of it as prevents veſſels which have touched at Britiſh ports from entering the ports ſubject to his influence. But it muſt be our own faults if he can ever ſucceed in executing this prohibition, even in his own ſtates; and ſtill more difficult of execution will it prove in places where there is no French agent to watch over it. No man can feel very apprehenſive that an American from Malta to Trieſte would run any great riſk of condemnation as having touched at a Britiſh port. All the vigilance of our cruizers, eager after prize, and reſtrained by no one common intereſt with the neutral, is every day ſet at nought by the arts which he practiſes to conceal the matter now in queſtion—the port from which he has laſt ſailed. The cuſtomhouſe officers at Trieſte are ſtrangely conſtituted, if their acuteneſs and zeal increaſes with the difficulty of the detection, and their own intereſt to avoid the ſcent.

There is one way, indeed, of preventing a neutral from ever eſcaping ſeizure—and a way, too, which is practicable to England alone. She may renew the famous Orders in Council—and thus make it plain to every revenue officer on the Continent, that every neutral which enters is lawful prize; but, unleſs ſome ſuch meaſure is adopted, we may ſet all the decrees of our enemy, and all his tributary ſtates at defiance. The Orders in Council have moſt wiſely been repealed,—if indeed a relinquiſhment of the moſt fooliſh meaſure ever conceived in any country deſerves the name of wiſdom. In their place has been ſubſtituted a plan more conſiſtent and intelligible, and much more limited in its operation; but, in principle, quite as unwiſe—and, ſo far as it goes, equally hurtful. Thoſe parts of the enemy's territory which adopted the Berlin decree, have been virtually blockaded. It is manifeſt, that if the Berlin decree is adopted by the whole Continent, and this blockade extended with it, in proportion to its rigorous enforcement will be the deſtruction of our commerce. In whole, or in a conſiderable part, we muſt depend upon

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if it perſiſt in oppoſing the only meaſures which can either enable the iſland to defend itſelf in the mean time, or render it ultimately ſecure from the attacks of the enemy, which all our forces ſhould be ſeriouſly ſet about, it would find it difficult to reſiſt.

upon neutrals for continuing our intercourſe with the Continent. The blockade cuts us off from this only means of carrying it on; unleſs, indeed, we expect that our own veſſels ſhall be admitted the more freely, the more we exclude thoſe of neutral nations. The wretched folly of this ſyſtem is, that it ſucceeds againſt the neutral, and againſt ourſelves, as completely as heart can wiſh; but, for any good that might be expected from it, we muſt depend upon the enemy. We can prevent, what our enemy never could do of himſelf, a ſingle bale of Britiſh goods from finding its way into the Continent on board an American veſſel; but, when we come to the main point of getting it in on board of our own veſſels, we find that the enemy will not conſent. As for the wild fancy of ſtarving Buonaparte out by this mode of warfare—of appealing from the ſtrength of his government and the force of his armies, to the deſire of ſugar and coffee among his ſubjects—nay, of appealing from his own hatred of England to his tenderneſs for his people—what ſhall we ſay, but that it is worthy of thoſe who expected to overpower his feelings by the dearth of medicines, while they were accuſing him of butchering his priſoners in cold blood, and getting rid of his ſick ſoldiers by poiſon?

It follows demonſtratively from what has juſt now been ſtated, that the neutrality of the new world is our beſt ſafeguard from the ſubjugation of the old. While America covers the ocean with her ſhips, England may defy the conqueror of Europe;—ſhe will trade, in ſpite of him, with his vaſſal kingdoms—nay, with the ports ſubject to his own immediate dominion. He can only deſtroy her European trade, by putting an end to the neutrality of America,—and by cauſing all Europe to do the ſame. It is the intereſt of England, firſt of all certainly, to remain at peace with America; but next, that America ſhould remain at peace with the reſt of the world. The intereſt of America is one and the ſame;—and, if this common object is purſued, the only free ſtates that now remain, may defy the common enemy of civil liberty and national independence. How ridiculous then is it to make a rupture between America and France, the chief object of our endeavours!—Except a rupture between America and England, it is the greateſt evil that could befal us; and yet we are perpetually running after the one of thoſe ills, at the riſk of encountering the other;—threatening to inflict upon ourſelves the calamity of a war with America, if ſhe will not do us the injury of going to war with France;—threatening to cut off our whole trade, if ſhe will not inſtantly deſtroy one half of it. The ſeaſon of conciliation with her is happily not gone paſt; and it is to be hoped that the popular feelings on both ſides, are conſiderably more calm than they were a few months ago. No conceſſions are required from either party; for America is willing to wave the immediate diſcuſſion of former

differences; and all that England hesitates about is, to allow America to retain the undignified attitude of an *unarmed* remonstrant against the idle decrees of France. That she ever should acquiesce in those decrees, is utterly inconceivable. No man has dreamt of it; —no man has ventured to assert that America would suspend her intercourse with England, merely because France asked her to do so, and threatened utter impossibilities if she did not comply. The whole question is, whether we shall quarrel with America, because she is less resentful of empty insult—less jealous about airy trifles than we are. Let us rather rejoice that such a nation is to be found—ready to bear those rubs which we are too proud to put up with,—and to save our honour, trade, pride and all together, at the expense of its own dignity. The friendship of such a nation, and its neutrality with respect to the rest of the world, is now become invaluable to us. We should purchase it cheaply by great sacrifices; but, from an happy concurrence of interests, we have it absolutely for nothing; and the sacrifice, if any be required, is tendered by America to France, not to America by England.

It is impossible to leave this branch of the subject, without adverting to the strange deluſions under which the country has so long laboured, with respect to what are termed points of national honour; and these are the more dangerous, because they have their foundation in the best feelings which a people can cherish,—or rather, they are an imposition practised upon those feelings. The practice is, amongst vulgar politicians, to assert on behalf of the country, a variety of very doubtful, or even unfounded pretensions,—to maintain these as undeniable rights,—and to contend that the degradation of the state, the ruin of its honour, and a speedy termination of its independence, is the immediate consequence of receding from any one of those claims. Now, to us it is by no means so clear, that the abandonment of the clearest right which a nation can possess, necessarily involves either its dishonour or its ruin; unless there be something important in the thing given up—or something humiliating and base in the thing submitted to—or, finally, something disgraceful in the mode of yielding the point. To allow the search of national ships, would be degrading,—because it cannot be practised without constant humiliation to the feelings of part of your troops. Rather than submit to this, a people should be prepared to perish with their swords in their hands. And accordingly England, with perfect wisdom, as well as a strict regard to justice, did not even ask America to yield this point. On the other hand, England claims the right of searching private vessels—and, as it appears to us, justly. Nor could she, consistently with honour, have abandoned it, when the Northern

Northern Powers had once publicly threatened to make her give it up by force. But the value of that right was not above all eſtimation; and no degradation could have enſued from fairly agreeing to wave it previous to any menaces, and for a juſt equivalent. In favour of nations, whoſe friendſhip we wiſh to cultivate,—more eſpecially of thoſe whoſe power is altogether inferior to our own,—whoſe aggrandizement we have no reaſon to dread,—and to whom no one can ſuſpect us of yielding through compulſion,—it may often be wiſe, and never can be diſhonourable, to make temporary conceſſions of rights which are indiſputably ours, provided the compromiſe is not diſcreditable in itſelf. Much more eaſily may caſes of this ſort be figured in our tranſactions with a people naturally united to us by ſo many indiſſoluble ties as thoſe that knit together the Engliſh of the old and the new world. They are our natural allies; and, as it is quite impoſſible to have too much jealouſy of France, ſo, towards America we can ſcarcely have too little. When ſuch reaſoners as Mr Leckie, gravely talk of our being inſulted by the Porte, we plainly perceive the errors of a man who has lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turks, until he has forgotten their inſignificance. But when France is ſtretching her iron coaſts on all ſides of us,—when her fleets and her camps are within ſight—and we alone, of all Europe, have not been conquered by her arms;—it is almoſt as ridiculous to be jealous of America as of Turkey—of a nation three thouſand miles off—ſcarcely kept together by the weakeſt government in the world,—with no army, and half a dozen frigates—and knowing no other means of intercourſe with other countries than by peaceful commerce.

While we reſerve all our jealousy for France, then let us at laſt learn, that kindness towards our allies is ſound and honourable policy. It has never been ſufficiently our aim to attach them by liberality to our cauſe. We forget that their ſtrength is our own—and fall far ſhort in this reſpect of France herſelf. Had ſhe been in our place, Ruſſia might have had Malta for the aſking, and a Weſt India iſland or two to boot. America would never have been left to quarrel about trifling ſpeculative points; and, inſtead of a ſilly conteſt about the little company of Oſtend, and its yearly ſhipment, Auſtria would have been complimented, had ſhe been ſo diſpoſed, with ſome millions of ſubjects in Indoſtan. We have never learnt the leſſon of making our friendſhip worth having; and the conſequence is, that our enmity has not been very dreadful.

To ſome of our readers it may perhaps appear that we have dwelt too long upon the commercial intereſts of the country, in a general diſcuſſion of its foreign affairs. But the queſtion be-

tween

tween France and England has, since the subjugation of the Continent, become entirely commercial. The war of the enemy against our trade, is now the only contest that remains. While our naval superiority lasts, he can never acquire seamen, unless, indeed, we force all neutrals out of the market, and compel him to carry for himself—which, though in a limited degree, he will then do. It has repeatedly been shown by the adversaries of the Americans, that they drive even the coasting trade of France. This fact is quite irreconcileable with the notion of her having any nursery for seamen; and those active mariners will doubtless engross the greater part of the trade between the other countries now subjected to France. The stations formerly mentioned in the Mediterranean and the North, will be sufficient to watch any naval armaments that may be attempted in those quarters; and the danger of invasion, though unquestionably increased in a very great degree, is by no means such as should make us despond, while we have still the means of supporting our fleets, and carrying on with unbroken spirit the business of the government.

The prosperity of our trade, however, is much more essential to this than it ever was before. It cannot be denied, that the public burdens press upon the people of this country with a weight, only not intolerable. There are even manifest symptoms, that an increase of taxes could scarcely be effected, whatever might be the call for new contributions. The revenue is raised, partly by direct taxation, and partly by duties on consumption. The property-tax, which forms the bulk of the direct imposts, has been, of late, collected with much more rigour than at first,—the persons entrusted with the management of it having, of course, become more skilful, and acquired a more intimate knowledge of people's affairs. The effect of this has been exactly the same as if the rate of that tax had been augmented. But the difficulty of procuring payment has also increased in an alarming degree. The assessment of 1805 was not quite six millions and a quarter; that of 1806 amounted to above eleven millions and a quarter—although there had only been imposed an addition of three and a half *per cent.* But the arrears have increased at a much higher rate. Last April, there remained due, of the assessment 1805, only 92,000*l.*; but of the assessment 1806, above 900,000*l.*; and of the assessment 1807, no less than 2,357,000*l.* * The difficulty of procuring payment has thus rapidly increased; and this can only be explained by the augmentation of prices in consequence

* Parliamentary Returns, 8th June, 1809.—The arrears of last year's assessment were above eight millions and a quarter; but these cannot be taken into the computation.

sequence of the war, and the increase of taxes upon articles of consumption. The produce of this other class of taxes has accordingly suffered a great diminution. The net produce of the permanent taxes (which, with the trifling exception of the legacy-duty, are all laid on consumption) last year, fell short of their net produce the year before by about 300,000*l.*, although new taxes, to the amount of two millions and a quarter, had been collected. The deficit upon the former taxes was therefore above two millions and a half; † and a similar defalcation took place in almost all the war taxes, which fall on consumable articles.

It appears, then, that when the property-tax was strictly levied, the difficulty of paying it increased;—that an imposition of new taxes upon consumption occasioned a diminution in the produce of the old;—and that the increased payment of direct taxes was compensated by a defalcation in the indirect taxes. The facts which we have stated warrant the inference, not merely that the one species of taxation operated at the expense of the other, but that, independent of all duties, the difficulty of raising the same amount of taxes had increased;—that, in short, the circumstances of our situation—the wasteful consumption of war—the rise in the price of labour from the demands of the army—and the checks upon our commerce, had so far straitened the means of the people, and raised the price of commodities, as to disable them from contributing the accustomed proportion to the exigences of the state. But we are willing to hope that the conclusion needs not be pushed so far; and we shall, for the present, confine ourselves to the position, unquestionably supported, not only by the foregoing statement, but by facts within every man's knowledge—that we have now arrived at the point where the attempt to raise one tax will only lower the produce of another—that a man cannot pay the full amount of his property-tax, and at the same time consume as many of the articles which pay duties to government, if these duties are raised; and, *vice versa*, that he cannot consume as much of those articles at the former duties, if his property shall be taxed more heavily.

If the nation has at last reached this point—if the revenue of

† The taxes on which the greatest proportional deficit is perceiveable are, as might be expected, those on articles of luxury. The duties on horses, carriages and servants, fell off from 2,150,000*l.* to 1,523,000*l.*—Customs and Excise, from 19,178,000*l.* to 17,960,000*l.* These deficits were in part covered by the new and most impolitic stamp-duty, and the increase of the assessed taxes known by the name of, '*a new arrangement of them*,'—and in part by an increased receipt upon the 10 *per cent.* of 1806 laid on the assessed taxes, and the duty of the same year on British spirits.

of the people is now made to pay as much towards the revenue of the state as any human means can extort from it—if the natural period of taxation is at length arrived—by the public income outstripping that of individuals—(and, surely, when we reflect, that besides twenty-two millions borrowed, above seventy millions Sterling are at present raised within the year by taxes, we cannot marvel at this crisis being come ‡);—how clearly must every thinking man perceive, that the whole system of our policy depends, for its existence, upon the continuance of our commerce,—that inextricable confusion will arise from any considerable diminution of the income of the country,—and that the only means of augmenting the public revenue, must be sought in the extension of the revenue of the people, by opening new channels of employment for their capital at home and abroad, while we carefully preserve those which are already accessible? At the same time, every practicable method should be resorted to, of diminishing our expenditure, by a rigorous and discerning reform of abuses. We are persuaded, that (we will not say, a great, but) a very considerable income may be derived from this source. Let any man reflect on the remark which he must so frequently have made, while passing through the halls, the chambers, the offices and the gardens, of an English grandee's palace, and, still more, while considering the manner in which his estates are managed—'The loss and the waste of thousands by the year,' is the thought which ever and anon presents itself. Who can doubt, then, that much is wasted in an establishment which costs above ninety millions a year,—which is spread over many thousand square miles,—entrusted to multitudes who have no interest in being economical, and watched over hastily, incidentally, and according to rules devised when it was in the bud, by a few persons who volunteer their services, change every day, and must see all abuses at a vast distance, if they see them at all? In the present state of our affairs, we may be well assured, that the danger which chiefly besets us is not that of parsimony. From this source we can descry nothing to appal us, except, perhaps, the risk of bringing the cause of reform into a temporary discredit, by too rash and indiscriminate a pursuit of it. But, from a continuance of our present scale of expenditure, coupled with what is infinitely more ruinous—a contempt for the only means of meeting

‡ The revenue raised by Great Britain, in 1809, is estimated at 65,885,342*l.*, including the surplus of 1808, and exclusive of money raised by loan and Exchequer bills, to the amount of 18,660,000*l.* The net revenue of Ireland, in 1808, exclusive of about 4,000,000*l.* loans, was 4,571,250*l.*; so that the revenue of the empire may be reckoned at 70,456,592*l.*

meeting it;—from a diſinclination to retrench whatever is uſeleſs in our outgoings, and, ſtill more, from an averſion to thoſe conciliatory meaſures, which, with perfect ſafety to our honour, may enable us to keep up, and even to augment, our national income;—from a conduct ſo infatuated as this, we foreſee, at no great diſtance, the approach of confuſion and diſmay in every branch of our affairs,—and the final conqueſt of an empire which, we ſincerely and proudly believe, nothing elſe can ever ſhake. †

It has often been our lot to ſpeak with deſpondency, amidſt the extravagant hopes of our countrymen; and the taſk, which a ſenſe of duty alone could force upon us, has been more painful than can eaſily be imagined. It is with no ſmall ſatisfaction, therefore, that we now think our deſpair of the fortunes of this country, and of the ultimate fate of the Continent, is much leſs deep than that which is ſpreading rapidly over the community. A better ſpirit has of late begun to manifeſt itſelf among the people of England. The language of conciliation towards neutrals has been liſtened to with more patience. The popular antipathies have been pointed of new excluſively againſt France. A marked contempt of thoſe filly half meaſures, which the government has generally adopted in the conduct of the war, begins to be diſplayed; the folly of what are miſnamed Britiſh objects, is daily more and more recognized; and a wiſh ſeems about to prevail, that we ſhould either direct the reſources of the empire to ſome worthy object, or reſerve them for our own defence. Theſe are excellent ſymptoms; and we devoutly pray that they may daily improve. Nor can we ſee, without ſatisfaction, the prevalence of an inquiring ſpirit as to domeſtic abuſes,—the ſtern aſpect which the people, awaked from its apathy, has turned upon the malverſations of the higher orders,—and the ſignal failure of all the miſerable attempts to cry down reform, by the raiſing the yell of Jacobiniſm. From the progreſs of theſe experiments, we augur moſt favourably for the ſtability of the empire; becauſe we foreſee an improvement in the adminiſtration of its affairs at home and abroad. It is plain, too, that in ſpite of all our attempts to ſave them, the abuſes of other governments have deſtroyed them; and, with the governments, the abuſes themſelves have for the moſt part been crushed. The ſtates which France has overrun, cannot continue in their former weakneſs. To the decrepitude

† A blind desire of peace, arising from the pressure of taxes, would scarcely prove less pernicious than the love of war, in which those taxes have had their origin. As soon as the contest in Spain is over, we shall feel it our duty once more to consider this most important subject.

decrepitude that bent them down before her, muſt ſucceed a period of vigour, which, after making them uſeful as her coadjutors, will hereafter render them turbulent and formidable. The evils of the changes which ſhe has made in their government and in the diſtribution of their territory—the incalculable miſchiefs of the military ſpirit which ſhe is diffuſing will, at a future ſeaſon, be alleviated by the means which they will afford of reſiſting her oppreſſions. Should any diſaſter befal her preſent ruler,—or when he yields to the courſe of nature,—it requires no gift of prophecy to foreſee, that the ſtrong government and improved ſyſtem of adminiſtration which he has eſtabliſhed in his tributary kingdoms, will raiſe an inſurmountable barrier round France, on whatever heads his many crowns may fall. Then will England be enabled to reſume her place as the arbiter of Europe—to count among her natural allies all thoſe nations whom France ſhall for a ſeaſon have been holding in thraldom—and to eſtabliſh her connexions with a ſet of able and vigorous dynaſties, inſtead of ſo many worn-out governments—maſſes of feebleneſs and abuſe,—whoſe friendſhip has hitherto been known to her, only by its vexations and its coſts.

When the tempeſt has overturned the venerable but inwardly decayed trees of an antient foreſt, two reſults may be anticipated from the viſitation. The ſpace where they ſtood may be covered for ages with a loathſome and unprofitable moraſs—or a new wood may ariſe from the fertilized ſoil, more gracefully diſpoſed, and more firmly rooted—leſs gloomy and unhealthful, and leſs entangled with the baſe undergrowth of creepers and brambles. We look confidently for the laſt of theſe events—and truſt that, inſtead of trying any more to lift thoſe dead and fallen trunks, or to prop thoſe that are already tottering in the blaſt, we ſhould reſerve our exertions to prepare the ſoil for the new ſhoots by which they muſt ſoon be replaced, and to train the riſing grove to flouriſh in the ſun, and bid defiance to the ſtorm.

ART. XII. *The Bakerian Lecture. An Account of ſome New Analytical Researches on the Nature of certain Bodies, particularly the Alkalies, Phoſphorus, Sulphur, Carbonaceous Matter, and the Acids hitherto undecompounded; with ſome general Obſervations on Chemical Theory.* By Humphry Davy, Eſq. Sec. R. S. F. R. S. Ed. and M. R. I. A. (From the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1809, Part I.)

An

An Account of some Experiments, performed with a View to ascertain the most advantageous Method of constructing a Voltaic Apparatus for the Purposes of Chemical Research. By John George Children, Esq. F. R. S. (From the same Work.)

HAVING made it a rule to follow the progress of Mr Davy's inquiries, from their commencement two years ago, we hasten to pursue this very agreeable task, by continuing the history of his experiments, published since our last Number. The paper now before us contains fewer complete processes—fewer discoveries satisfactorily established, than any of the former ones;—but it abounds in elaborate and ingenious experiments, the results of which, in their present state extremely interesting, are yet more so, as paving the way for further research, and scattering thickly the seeds of most important improvements in chemical science.

Before proceeding to Mr Davy's paper, we shall notice that of Mr Children, which forms a proper introduction to it. He compared the effects of two voltaic batteries, the one consisting of a small number of large plates, the other composed of a great number of small plates, and having altogether a much smaller surface of metal. The former consisted of twenty pair of large plates, and had a surface of 92,160 square inches; the latter of two hundred pair of small plates, and had a surface of only 3200 square inches. Their batteries were both excited by diluted nitrous and sulphuric acids mixed together. The *intensity* of the electricity produced by the large battery was so small, that it did not affect the electrometer; and it acted very feebly upon nonconductors in general. Its *quantity*, however, was great; and its action on perfect conductors very powerful. The small battery produced an electricity much more intense, and capable of acting violently upon imperfect conductors. Thus, it affected the electrometer, and decomposed potash and barytes, which the other did not effect. But Mr Children does not seem to have tried its action upon metallic wires. Of these, the large battery easily fused such as were not easily oxydable, and consequently were good conductors. Mr Children, however, compared its action, in this respect, with the action of a battery of 1250 four-inch plates. The large plate battery fused eighteen inches of platina wire; the small plate battery only half an inch, which is evidently by no means in the ratio of their surfaces.* This is certainly a curious fact; although the

* Mr Children makes some mistake, when he says that, according to this ratio, the small battery should have fused nearly 14 inches instead

the author appears rather to generalize too quickly and too confidently, when he lays down from his experiments the following propoſition. 'The abſolute effect,' ſays he, 'of a voltaic apparatus, ſeems to be in the compound ratio of the number and ſize of the plates; the intenſity of the electricity being as the former, the quantity given out as the latter.' The practical rule, however, which he deduces from hence, appears to be quite well founded. 'Regard,' he obſerves, 'muſt be had, in conſtructing the battery, to the purpoſes for which it is deſigned. For experiments on perfect conductors, very large plates are to be preferred; a ſmall number of which will probably be ſufficient: but, where the reſiſtance of imperfect conductors is to be overcome, the combination muſt be great, but the ſize of the plates may be ſmall; but if quantity and intenſity be both required, then a large number of large plates will be neceſſary.' For general purpoſes, four-inch plates are moſt convenient: they ſhould be joined together only in one point, and moveable in the trough, which ſhould be made entirely of Wedgewood's ware. It is, we believe, with an apparatus conſtructed in this manner, that ſeveral of the experiments of Mr Davy, which we are about to analyze, were performed.

The firſt object to which our author directs his attention, is the mutual action of potaſſium and ammonia. The experiments on this ſubject were made with that metal obtained by the action of ignited iron upon potaſh, in the proceſs diſcovered by the French chemiſts. The potaſſium was expoſed on a platina tray, introduced into a retort of plate-glaſs, which was firſt exhauſted, then filled with hydrogen, and exhauſted again—then filled with pure ammoniacal gas. All impurities ariſing from oxydes, water, &c. were thus as much as poſſible avoided. Potaſſium expoſed in this manner to ammoniacal gas, becomes ſlightly covered with a film of potaſh, and a ſmall quantity of hydrogen gas is found in the ammoniacal gas. But if heat is applied, (by bringing a ſpirit lamp under the bulb of the retort where the tray is placed), a crust is formed of greater thickness, which changes from white to blue, and then to olive. The heat being continued, the crust and metal fuſe together, with an effervescence; the crust paſſes off to the ſides, and the metal appears; it is again covered; and ſo on, until

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inſtead of half an inch. If, by a battery of 1250 plates, he means one of ſo many pairs of plates, the ratio of the ſurfaces is about that of 20 to 23; and the leſſer ſhould have fuſed about 15 inches and a half. If he means ſingle plates, then the ratio is that of 10 to 23; and only about eight inches ſhould have been fuſed. We preſume he means pairs of plates.

until it is wholly converted into the dark olive-coloured substance. In this process part of the ammoniacal gas disappears and hydrogen gas is evolved: the quantity of the former which disappears, varies with the moisture of the gas; but the quantity of hydrogen evolved is in proportion to the quantity of potassium operated upon. The dark-coloured substance is chiefly distinguished by its fusibility; it melts at a heat somewhat higher than that of boiling water. When burnt in oxygen, it absorbs that gas, emits nitrogen, and leaves a residuum of potash and water. When plunged in water, it produces much heat and even inflammation; and disappears with effervescence. The gas which escapes is hydrogen. When the fusible substance is heated in vacuo, it gives out an elastic fluid; and a dark-grey mass remains. The elastic fluid consists, besides a little ammonia, of two gasses: one detonates with oxygen, and is to all appearance hydrogen gas; the other does not detonate. Mr Davy thinks it pretty clear that the ammonia is only obtained when moisture is present. He examined the residuum of the fusible substance, after it had been exposed to a low red heat; and found that it was brittle, conducting, opaque, and black; spontaneously inflammable; and giving out ammonia when thrown into water. By a variety of nice experiments and calculations, he was led to think that a portion of the nitrogen, absorbed from the ammonia in the formation of this substance, disappeared altogether; and the following remarkable process left no doubt of it. The residuum was placed in a platina tube, thoroughly exhausted, connected with a pneumatic apparatus, and exposed to the heat of a forge. After it had by this means been heated as intensely as possible, the gas which came over, when mixed with half its bulk of oxygen, and detonated, left about one-sixth part of the whole, undestroyed; and that sixth contained oxygen. In the tube was found potash, and potassium; and water being added, much heat and inflammation was produced, but no symptom of ammonia. A variety of repetitions gave results perfectly correspondent. Mr Davy clearly shows, that this is a considerably smaller residue of nitrogen than should be found; and it is evident that a part of that body having disappeared, its place is filled by oxygen, and another body not distinguishable from hydrogen. He concludes this part of his inquiry with stating, in the modest and truly philosophical form of a query, the theory of this singular experiment.

Is it, he asks, that the substance which, together with oxygen, takes the place of the nitrogen, is a new inflammable gas? or, that nitrogen has a metallic basis, which alloys with the substance of the vessels? or, that nitrogen, hydrogen and oxygen, all contain water as a ponderable basis, being themselves without weight?

or, finally, that nitrogen is a compound of hydrogen and oxygen, —a modification of water, containing a greater proportion of oxygen?' To determine these points, our author is engaged in further experiments; and we can scarcely doubt that the result will be in favour of the last supposition; or at least, that nitrogen will be found, either to be an oxyde of hydrogen, or to contain hydrogen and oxygen, with some new and uninflammable aeriform body.

Mr Davy's experiments upon sulphur and phosphorus were performed with a different apparatus. A platina wire was introduced into the end of a glass tube, and hermetically fixed in it. The tube, filled with the inflammable body, was bent at the other end; and another wire there inserted in the inflammable body. The wires could thus be brought within the proper distance of each other; and the shock of the battery be sent from one to the other, through the substance. When sulphur was exposed, in this manner, to the influence of a powerful battery (500 double plates of six inches), strong heat was produced: the spark was of a vivid orange colour; and sulphuretted hydrogen escaped. The residue was opaque, brown, and difficult of fusion. Our author obtained of gas, above five times the volume of the sulphur employed. Suspecting that oxygen as well as hydrogen is contained in sulphur, Mr Davy having dried, as completely as possible, a quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, heated potassium in it: it emitted white fumes, and took fire, depositing sulphur, sulphuret of potash, and sulphuret of potassium; and leaving hydrogen gas slightly impregnated with sulphur, in the receiving vessel. From this, and from several other experiments, our author infers that sulphur consists of a peculiar basis, not hitherto obtained in its simple state, united with small portions of oxygen and hydrogen. Phosphorus being exposed to the same series of experiments, both to the action of the galvanic fluid, and of potassium, gave nearly the same results. These experiments resemble the former so closely in every respect, that we shall not analyze them. The inference is, that phosphorus contains hydrogen, oxygen, and a peculiar basis.

Mr Davy next examined, by similar tests, the constitution of plumbago and charcoal. The former remained quite unaltered when exposed to a battery strong enough to melt platina wire instantly. When heated with potassium, it formed a body spontaneously inflammable and decompounding water. The latter, exposed to the battery, gave out carbonated hydrogen; and, when heated with potassium, formed a body spontaneously inflammable. Neither carbon nor plumbago show any marks of containing oxygen. The diamond appears to contain a minute portion of oxygen.

In

In his former experiments, our author had found, that the action of the battery separates a peculiar substance from boracic acid, on the negative surface. Upon examining this, he found it inflammable; and saw reason to conclude, that, by oxygenation, it reproduced boracic acid. He had likewise found, that potassium, when heated with the same acid, produced barate of potash and a peculiar substance; which appearing, therefore, to be the basis of the acid, he now examined more fully. It is of a dark olive colour, perfectly opaque and nonconducting. It takes fire in common atmospherical air, at a temperature below that of boiling olive oil. Heated intensely in an exhausted tube, it suffers no perceptible change, except that its colour becomes darker; —heated gently in oxygen gas, it throws off vivid sparks, burns brilliantly, and sublimes into boracic acid: the residuum requires a stronger heat, but sublimes into the same substance. When exposed to oxymuriatic acid, without heating, it burns with violence, forms boracic acid, and leaves a residuum, which burns and forms the same acid on the application of a gentle heat.

A variety of other experiments are detailed by Mr Davy, all illustrative of the affinity of this substance with oxygen, and its producing, by that union, boracic acid: but they exhibit no phenomena of peculiar interest; and we therefore pass them over. He gives two experiments, out of several which he made, in order to ascertain the proportions of this substance and oxygen in the boracic acid. They were not very accurate, and can only be viewed as approximations. The first gave two parts of oxygen to one of the inflammable basis; the second gave 1.8 oxygen to one of the basis. Mr Davy reasonably considers this basis as bearing the same relation to boracic acid that sulphur and phosphorus do to sulphuric and phosphoric acids;—in other words, as an oxyde of the true basis of the boracic acid. By heating it successively with potassium and with iron filings and a little potassium, bodies resembling metallic alloys and good conductors of electricity were produced, and the potassium was partly converted into potash. Our author infers from hence, that the basis of the acid is metallic; and he proposes to call it *boracium*. We apprehend it will be easily admitted, that he has succeeded in decomposing this acid,—at least that he has exhibited the base of it in its first state of deoxygenation, and given us as clear a knowledge of its composition as we have of the constitution of sulphuric or nitrous acids. His experiments on fluoric acid have been carried on in the same manner, and also by the application of the boracic basis, above described, to its decomposition; but without any such satisfactory result as to warrant us in following their details. He has certainly not advanced far towards the de-

composition of that acid. The only result worth mentioning, is, that potassium, when heated in fluoric acid gas, burns, and makes the gas disappear,—leaving a little hydrogen gas, and a dark coloured heterogeneous residuum.

Mr Davy's experiments upon muriatic acid have still failed in decomposing that refractory body; but they have been conducted with such admirable patience and skill, that, besides leading to some very curious facts in the mean time, they have most probably insured him, at no distant period, the solution of this great problem. The quantity of hydrogen always produced in the deoxygenating processes to which muriatic acid has been subjected, first attracted his notice. It is needless to follow the train of his experiments upon this point; because they lead to a conclusion which will be readily anticipated by every one familiar with the habitudes of the acid—that the evolution of hydrogen, which apparently takes place from the acid, comes in every case from water held in solution. Our author's next object, therefore, was, if possible, to obtain muriatic acid free from water, with which it has so strong an affinity. We shall only notice the experiments in which he appears to have come nearest to this point; in none has he reached it decisively. By the combustion of phosphorus in oxymuriatic acid, a white substance sublimes; a small portion of liquor is likewise formed, and the gas is almost entirely absorbed. The sublimate, our author thinks, is a mixture of dry phosphoric and muriatic acids; the liquor, he conceives, is a mixture of dry phosphorus and muriatic acids. Sulphur exhibited to oxymuriatic acid in the same manner, gave mixtures, supposed by our author to contain dry sulphuric and muriatic acids. But as these experiments proved unsatisfactory for the object in view, he proceeded to examine the compounds thus produced. The circumstance chiefly to be remarked in them, is, that potassium being exhibited to them, produces most violent explosions. In these, Mr Davy does not conceive that the muriatic acid can be inactive; and he suspects that its decomposition, and the formation of a new substance from its basis, may be the occasion of the phenomena. But the further investigation of this subject he of course defers, until new experiments shall have enabled him to prosecute it with greater advantage.

This paper concludes with some general remarks, not so much upon the inferences directly to be drawn from the inquiries already analyzed, as upon certain incidental topics presented to our creed by those inquiries, and forming the subjects of corollaries to the main propositions. They are neither very numerous, nor of peculiar importance; but the paper itself is quite interesting enough to render any disappointment on this score highly unreasonable.

We

We ſhall add, in Mr Davy's own words, the general obſervation upon the whole of his late inveſtigations, with which he cloſes the preſent tract.

'The facts' ſays he 'advanced in this lecture, afford no new arguments in favour of an idea to which I referred in my last communication to the Society,—that of hydrogen being a common principle in all inflammable bodies; and, except in inſtances which are ſtill under inveſtigation, and concerning which no preciſe concluſions can as yet be drawn, the generalization of Lavoiſier happily applies to the explanation of all the new phenomena.'

We the rather cite this paſſage, becauſe perſons, half informed on theſe ſubjects, and ſenſeleſs enough (if, indeed, another word ſhould not be uſed) to contaminate ſcientific inquiries with the vulgar feelings of political hoſtility, have of late been forward in extolling the diſcoveries of Mr Davy, not on account of their vaſt intrinſic value, but from ſome vague confuſed notion, that they overthrew the modern theory founded by the French chemiſts, and created, as it were, a ſort of balance of invention in favour of England. But on ſo diſguſting a topic we are aſhamed to dwell one moment longer.

'In proportion' our author concludes 'as progreſs is made towards the knowledge of pure combuſtible baſes, ſo in proportion is the number of metallic ſubſtances increaſed; and it is probable, that ſulphur and phoſphorus, could they be perfectly deprived of oxygen, would belong to this claſs of bodies. Poſſibly their pure elementary matter may be procured, by diſtillation at a high heat, from metallic alloys, in which they have been acted upon by ſodium or potaſſium. I hope ſoon to be able to try this experiment. As our inquiries at preſent ſtand, the great general diviſion of natural bodies is into matter which is, or may be ſuppoſed to be, metallic, and oxygen; but till the problem concerning the nature of nitrogen is fully ſolved, all ſyſtematic arrangement made upon this idea muſt be regarded as premature.'

Our readers will have perceived, in the courſe of this analyſis, that the unwearied labour and the admirable ſkill of Mr Davy have not, ſince we laſt treated of theſe ſubjects, been rewarded with any diſcoveries of ſuperior importance. Such, at leaſt, is the impreſſion which the paper now before us will infallibly make on every one who ſtudies it. Yet let us conſider what we ſhould have ſaid, had ſuch a contribution to chemical knowledge fallen in our way three years ago;—had we, for inſtance, heard, that the baſis of the boracic acid had been diſcovered—that hydrogen had been detected in ſulphur and phoſphorus—and oxygen in azote? The whole world of letters would have been in commotion; and it would have been univerſally allowed, that, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the modern chemiſtry, no ſuch ſteps had been made towards its

perfection. If we now think leſs of theſe improvements, or even receive them with coldneſs, it is only becauſe we are ſpoilt with the abundance of capital diſcoveries in which we have of late been revelling;—and it is Mr Davy himſelf who has ſpoilt us. His grand and numerous inventions, together with the two unexpected and important ſteps made by the French and Swediſh chemiſts, have, for a while, ſo completely ſatiated the curioſity of the ſcientific world, that ſcarcely any new fact would now excite aſtoniſhment. While we are upon this point, we cannot avoid expreſſing the regret which filled us in reading the preſent paper, to perceive the philoſophers of theſe neighbouring countries ſo entirely cut off from a mutual intercourſe infinitely beneficial to their common purſuits. Mr Davy has to this day only read the intereſting experiments of Meſſrs Gay, Luſſac, and Thenard, in a Number of the *Moniteur*. If the rulers of nations are reſolved never to conſult the intereſts of the ſpecies in abſtaining from war, ſurely they might contrive to conduct operations, which can only be excuſed from their neceſſity, in ſuch a manner as to avoid unneceſſary aggravations of the evil.

ART. XIII. *Obſervations on the Hiſtorical Work of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox.* By the Right Honourable George Roſe. pp. 215. *With a Narrative of the Events which occurred in the Enterprize of the Earl of Argyle in* 1685. By Sir Patrick Hume. 4to. pp. 67. London, 1809.

THIS is an extraordinary performance in itſelf;—but the reaſons aſſigned for its publication are ſtill more extraordinary. A perſon of Mr Roſe's conſequence—inceſſantly occupied, as he aſſures us, 'with official duties, which take equally,' according to his elegant expreſſion, 'from the diſembarraſſment of the mind and the leiſure of time,' thinks it abſolutely neceſſary to explain to his country the motives which have led him to do ſo idle a thing as to write a book. He would not have it ſuppoſed, however, that he could be tempted to ſo queſtionable an act, by any light or ordinary conſideration. Mr Fox and other literary loungers may write from a love of fame, or a reliſh for literature; but the official labours of Mr Roſe can only be ſuſpended by higher calls. All his former publications, he informs us, originated in 'a ſenſe of public duty;' and the preſent, in 'an impulſe of private friendſhip.' An ordinary reader may perhaps find ſome difficulty in comprehending how Mr Roſe could be '*impelled* by private friendſhip' to publiſh a heavy quarto of political obſervations on Mr Fox's Hiſtory—and for our own parts, we muſt confeſs, that after

after the moſt diligent peruſal of his long explanation, we do not in the leaſt comprehend it yet. The explanation, however, which is very curious, it is our duty to lay before our readers.

Mr Roſe was much patroniſed by the late Earl of Marchmont, who left him his family papers, with an injunction to make uſe of them, 'if it ſhould ever become neceſſary.' Among theſe papers was a narrative by Sir Patrick Hume, the Earl's grandfather, of the occurrences which befel him and his aſſociates, in the unfortunate expedition undertaken by the Earl of Argyle in 1685. Mr Fox, in detailing the hiſtory of that expedition, has paſſed a cenſure, as Mr Roſe thinks, on the character of Sir Patrick; and, to obviate the effects of that cenſure, he now finds it 'neceſſary' to publiſh this volume.

All this ſounds very chivalrous and affectionate; but we have three little remarks to make. In the firſt place, Mr Fox paſſes no cenſure on Sir Patrick Hume. In the ſecond place, this publication does by no means obviate the cenſure of which Mr Roſe complains. And, thirdly, it is utterly abſurd to aſcribe Mr Roſe's part of the volume, in which Sir Patrick Hume is ſcarcely ever mentioned, to any anxiety about *his* reputation.

In the firſt place, it is quite certain that Mr Fox paſſes no cenſure on Sir Patrick Hume. On the contrary, he ſays of him, that 'he had early diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the cauſe of liberty;' and afterwards rates him ſo very highly, as to think it a ſufficient reaſon for conſtruing ſome doubtful points in Sir John Cochrane's conduct favourably, that 'he had always acted in conjunction 'with Sir Patrick Hume, who is proved by the ſubſequent events, 'and indeed *by the whole tenor of his life and conduct, to have 'been uniformly ſincere and zealous in the cauſe of his country.*' Such is the deliberate and unequivocal teſtimony which Mr Fox has borne to the character of this gentleman; and ſuch the hiſtorian, whoſe unjuſt cenſures have compelled the Right Honourable George Roſe to indite 250 quarto pages, out of pure regard to the injured memory of this anceſtor of his deceaſed patron.

Such is Mr Fox's opinion, then, of Sir Patrick Hume; and the only opinion he *any where* gives of his *character*. With regard to his *conduct*, he obſerves, indeed, in one place, that he and the other gentlemen engaged in the enterpriſe appear to have paid too little deference to the opinion of their noble leader; and narrates, in another, that at the breaking up of their little army, they did not even ſtay to reaſon with him, but croſſed the Clyde with ſuch as would follow them. Now, Sir Patrick's own narrative, ſo far from contradicting either of theſe ſtatements, confirms them both in the moſt remarkable manner. There is ſcarcely a page of it that does not ſhow the jealous and controul-

ing ſpirit which was exerciſed towards their leader; and, with regard to the concluding ſcene, Sir Patrick's own account makes infinitely more ſtrongly againſt himſelf and Sir John Cochran, than the general ſtatement of Mr Fox. So far from ſtaying to argue with their general before parting with him, it appears that Sir Patrick did not ſo much as ſee him; and that Cochrane, at whoſe ſuggeſtion he deſerted him, had in a manner ordered that unfortunate nobleman to leave their company. The material words of the narrative are these.

'On coming down to Kilpatrick, I met Sir John (Cochrane), with others accompanieing him; who, *takeing mee by the hand, turned mee*, saying, My heart, goe you with mee. Whither goe you, said I? Over Clide by boate, said he.—I: Wher is Argyle? I must see him.—He: He is gone away to his owne countrey, you cannot see him.—I: How comes this change of resolution, and that wee went not together to Glasgow?—He: It is no time to answer questions, but I shall satisfy you afterward. To the boates wee came, filled 2, and rowed over,' &c.—'An honest gentleman who was present, told mee afterward the manner of his parting with the Erle. Argyle being in the roome with Sir John, the gentleman coming in, found confusion in the Erle's countenance and speach. In end he said, Sir John, I pray advise mee what shall I doe; shall I goe over Clide with you, or shall I goe to my owne countrey? Sir John answered, My Lord, I have told you my opinion; *you have some Highlanders here about you; it is best you goe to your owne countrey with them, for it is to no purpose for you to go over Clide. My Lord, faire you well.* Then call'd the gentleman, *Come away, Sir; who followed him when I met with him.*'—Sir P. Hume's Narrative, p. 63, 64.

Such are all the cenſures which Mr Fox paſſes upon this departed worthy; and ſuch the *contradiction* which Mr Roſe now thinks it neceſſary to exhibit. It is very true that Mr Fox, in the courſe of his narrative, is under the neceſſity of mentioning, on the credit of all the hiſtorians who have treated of the ſubject, that Argyle, after his capture, did expreſs himſelf in terms of ſtrong diſapprobation, both of Sir Patrick Hume and of Sir John Cochrane; and ſaid, that their ignorance and miſconduct was, *though not designedly*, the chief cauſe of his failure. Mr Fox neither adopts nor rejects this ſentiment. He gives his own opinion, as we have already ſeen, in terms of the higheſt encomium on the character of Sir Patrick Hume, and merely repeats the expreſſions of Argyle as he found them in Woodrow and the other hiſtorians, and as he was under the neceſſity of repeating them, if he was to give any account of the laſt words of that unfortunate nobleman. It is this cenſure of Argyle, then, perhaps, and not any cenſure of Mr Fox's, that Mr Roſe intended to obviate by the publication before us. But, upon this ſuppoſition, how did the appearance of Mr Fox's book conſtitute that *neceſſity* which compelled

compelled the tender conscience of Lord Marchmont's executor to give to the world this long lost justification of his ancestor? The censure did not appear for the first time in Mr Fox's book. It was repeated, during Sir Patrick's own life, in all the papers of the time, and in all the historians since. Sir Patrick lived nearly forty good years after this accusation of Argyle was made public; and thirty-six of those years in great credit, honour and publicity. If he had thought that the existence of such an accusation constituted a kind of moral *necessity* for the publication of his narrative, it is evident that he would himself have published it; and if it was not necessary then, while he was alive to suffer by the censure of his leader, or to profit by its refutation, it is not easy to understand how it should be necessary now, when 130 years have elapsed from the date of it, and the bones of its author have reposed for nearly a century in their peaceful and honoured monument.

That the narrative never was published before, though the censure, to which it is supposed to be an antidote, had been published for more than a century, is a pretty satisfactory proof, that those who were most interested, and best qualified to judge, either did not consider the censure as very deadly, or the antidote as very effectual. We are very well contented to leave it doubtful which of these was the case; and we are convinced, that all the readers of Mr Rose's book will agree that it is still very doubtful. Sir Patrick, in his narrative, no doubt, says, that Argyle was extremely arrogant, self-willed, and obstinate; but it is equally certain, that the Earl said of him, that he was jealous, disobedient, and untractable. Both were men of honour and veracity; and, we doubt not, believed what they said. It is even possible that both may have said truly; but, at this distance of time, and with no new evidence but the averment of one of the parties, it would be altogether ridiculous to pretend to decide which may have come nearest to an impartial statement. Before the publication of the present narrative, it is plain, from Woodrow, Burnet, and other writers, that considerable blame was generally laid on Argyle for his peremptoriness and obstinacy; and now that the narrative is published, it is still more apparent than ever, that he had some ground for the charges he made against his officers. The whole tenor of it shows, that they were constantly in the habit of checking and thwarting him; and we have already seen, that it gives a very lame and unsatisfactory account of their strange desertion of him, when their fortunes appeared to be desperate.

It is perfectly plain, therefore, we conceive, that the publication of Mr Fox's book constituted neither a necessity nor an intelligible inducement for the publication of this narrative; and that the

the narrative, now that it is publiſhed, has no tendency to remove any ſlight ſhade of cenſure that hiſtory may have thrown over the temper or prudence of Sir Patrick Hume. But, even if all this had been otherwiſe—if Mr Fox had, for the firſt time, inſinuated a cenſure on this defunct whig, and if the Narrative had contained the moſt complete refutation of ſuch a cenſure, this might indeed have accounted for the publication of Sir Patrick's narrative; but it could not have accounted at all for the publication of Mr Roſe's book—the only thing to be accounted for. The narrative is given as an appendix of 65 pages to a volume of upwards of 300. In publiſhing the narrative, Mr Roſe did not aſſume the character of 'an author,' and was not called upon, by the reſponſibility of that character, to explain to the world his reaſons for 'ſubmitting himſelf to their judgment.' It is only for his book, then, excluſive of the narrative, that Mr Roſe can be underſtood to be offering any apology; and the apology he offers is, that it ſprung from the impulſe of private friendſhip. When the matter is looked into, however, it turns out, that though private friendſhip may, by a great ſtretch, be ſuppoſed to have dictated the publication of the appendix, it can by no poſſibility account, or help to account, for the compoſition of the book. Nay, the tendency and tenor of the book is ſuch as this ardent and romantic friendſhip muſt neceſſarily condemn. It contains nothing whatever in praiſe or in defence of Sir Patrick Hume; but it contains a very keen, and not a very candid attack, upon his party and his principles. Profeſſing to be publiſhed from anxiety to vindicate and exalt the memory of an inſurgent revolution whig, it conſiſts almoſt entirely of an attempt to depreciate Whig principles, and openly to decry and vilify ſuch of Mr Fox's opinions, as Sir Patrick Hume conſtantly exemplified in his actions. There never was an effect, we believe, imputed to ſo improbable a cauſe.

Finally, we may aſk, if Mr Roſe's view, in this publication, was merely to vindicate the memory of Sir Patrick Hume, why he did not put into Mr Fox's hands the information which would have rendered all vindication unneceſſary? It was known to all the world, for ſeveral years, that Mr Fox was engaged in the hiſtory of that period; and if Mr Roſe really thought that the papers in his cuſtody gave a different view of Sir Patrick's conduct from that exhibited in the printed authorities, was it not his duty to put Mr Fox upon his guard againſt being miſled by them, and to communicate to him thoſe invaluable documents, to which he could have acceſs in no other way? Did he doubt that Mr Fox would have candour to ſtate the truth, or that he would have ſtated

ed with pleaſure any thing that could exalt the character of a revolution whig? Did he imagine that any ſtatement of his could ever obtain equal notoriety and effect with a ſtatement in Mr Fox's hiſtory? Or, did he poorly withhold this information, that he might detract from the value of that hiſtory, and have to boaſt to the public that there was one point upon which he was better informed than that illuſtrious ſtateſman? As to the prepoſterous apology which ſeems to be hinted at in the book itſelf, viz. that it was Mr Fox's buſineſs to have aſked for theſe papers, and not Mr Roſe's to have offered them, we ſhall only obſerve, that it ſtands on a point of etiquette, which would ſcarcely be permitted to govern the civilities of tradeſmens' wives; and that it ſeems not a little unreaſonable to lay Mr Fox under the neceſſity of aſking for papers, the very exiſtence of which he could have no reaſon to expect. This narrative of Sir Patrick Hume has now lain in the archives of his family for 130 years, unknown and unſuſpected to all but its immediate proprietors; and, diſtinguiſhed as Sir Patrick was in his day in Scotland, it certainly does not imply any extraordinary ſtupidity in Mr Fox, not to know, by intuition, that there were papers of his in exiſtence which might afford him ſome lights on the ſubject of his hiſtory.

We may appear to have dwelt too long on theſe preliminary conſiderations, ſince the intrinſic value of Mr Roſe's obſervations certainly will not be affected by the truth or the fallacy of the motives he has aſſigned for publiſhing them. It is impoſſible, however, not to ſee that, when a writer aſſigns a falſe motive for his coming forward, he is commonly conſcious, that the real one is diſcreditable; and that to expoſe the hollowneſs of ſuch a pretence, is to lay the foundation of a wholeſome diſtruſt of his general fairneſs and temper. Any body certainly had a right to publiſh remarks on Mr Fox's work,—and nobody a better right than Mr Roſe; and if he had ſtated openly, that all the habits and connexions of his life had led him to wiſh to ſee that work diſcredited, no one would have been entitled to complain of his exertions in the cauſe. When he chooſes to diſguiſe this motive, however, and to aſſign another which does not at all account for the phenomenon, we are ſo far from forgetting the exiſtence of the other, that we are internally convinced of its being much ſtronger than we ſhould otherwiſe have ſuſpected; and that it is only diſſembled, becauſe it exiſts in a degree that could not have been decently avowed. For the ſame reaſon, therefore, of enabling our readers more diſtinctly to appretiate the intellect and temper of this Right Honourable author, we muſt ſay a word or two more of his introduction, before proceeding to the ſubſtance of his remarks.

Beſides the edifying hiſtory of his motive for writing, we are favoured,

favoured, in that singular piece, with a number of his opinions upon points no way connected with Mr Fox or his history; and with a copious account of his labours and studies in all kinds of juridical and constitutional learning. In order to confirm an opinion, that a minute knowledge of our antient history is not necessary to understand our actual constitution, he takes an unintelligible survey of the progress of our government, from the days of King Alfred,—and quotes Lord Coke, Plowden, Doomesday Book, Lord Ellesmere, Rymer's Fœdera, Dugdale's Origines, the Rolls of Parliament, Whitelock, and Abbott's Records; but, above all, 'a report which *I* made several years ago on the state 'of the records in *my* custody.' He then goes on, in the most obliging manner, to inform his readers, that 'Vertot's Account 'of the Revolutions of Rome has been found very useful by per-'sons who have read the Roman History; but the best model 'that I have met with for such a work as appears to me to be 'much wanted, is a short History of Poland, which I translated 'nearly forty years ago, but did not publish; the manuscript of 'which His Majesty at the time did me the honour to accept, 'and it probably is still in His Majesty's library.' Introduction, p. xxiv. xxv.

Truly all this is very interesting; and very much to the purpose:—but scarcely more so than eight or nine pages that follow, containing a long account of the conversations which Lord Marchmont had with Lord Bolingbroke, about the politics of Queen Anne's ministers, and which Mr Rose now gives to the world from his recollection of various conversations between himself and Lord Marchmont. He tells us, moreover, that, 'accustom-'ed as he has been to *official accuracy* in statement,' he had naturally a quick eye for mistakes in fact or in deduction;—that, 'hav-'ing long enjoyed the confidence and affectionate friendship of 'Mr Pitt,' he has been more scrupulous than he would otherwise have been, in ascertaining the grounds of his animadversions on the work of his great rival;—and that, notwithstanding all this anxiety, and the want of 'disembarrassment of mind, and 'leisure of time,' he has compiled this volume in about as many *weeks* as Mr Fox took *years* to the work on which it comments!

For the observations themselves, we must say that we have perused them with considerable pleasure—not certainly from any extraordinary gratification which we derived from the justness of the sentiments, or the elegance of the style, but from a certain agreeable surprise which we experienced on finding how few parts of Mr Fox's doctrine were considered as vulnerable, even by Mr Rose; and in how large a proportion of his freest and strongest observations that jealous observer has expressed his most cordial concurrence.

concurrence. The Right Honourable George Rose, we rather believe, is commonly considered as one of the least whiggish or democratical of all the public characters who have lived in our times; and he has himself acknowledged, that a long habit of political opposition to Mr Fox, had perhaps given him a stronger bias against his favourite doctrines than he might otherwise have entertained. It was therefore no slight consolation to us to find that the true principles of English liberty had made so great a progress in the opinions of all men in upper life, as to extort such an ample admission of them, even from a person of Mr Rose's habits and connexions. As we fear, however, that the same justness and liberality of thinking are by no means general among the more obscure retainers of party throughout the country, we think it may not be without its use to quote a few of the passages to which we have alluded, just to let the vulgar tories in the provinces see how much of their favourite doctrines has been abjured by their more enlightened chiefs and leaders in the seat of government.

In the first place, there are all the passages, (which it would be useless and tedious to recite), in which the patriotism and public virtue of Sir P. Hume are held up to the admiration of posterity. Now, Sir P. Hume, that true and sincere lover of his country, whose 'talents and virtues his Sovereign acknowledged and re-'warded,' and 'whose honours have been attended by the suf-'frage of his country, and the approbation of good men,' was, even in the reign of Charles, concerned in designs analogous to those of Russell and Sydney;—and, very soon after the accession of James, and (as Mr Rose thinks) before that monarch had done any thing in the least degree blameable, rose up openly in arms, and endeavoured to stir up the people to overthrow the existing government. Even Mr Fox hesitates as to the wisdom and the virtue of those engaged in such enterprizes;—and yet Mr Rose, professing to see danger in that writer's excessive zeal for liberty, writes a book to extol the patriotism of a premature insurgent.

After this, we need not quote our author's warm panegyrics on the Revolution—'that *glorious* event to which the measures of 'James *necessarily* led,'—or on the character of Lord Sommers—'whose wisdom, talents, political *courage* and *virtue*, would alone 'have been sufficient to ensure the success of that measure.' It may surprise some of his political admirers a little more, however, to find him professing that he '*concurs* with Mr Fox as to 'the expediency of the Bill of Exclusion' (that boldest and most decided of all whig measures); and thinks 'that the events which 'took place in the next reign afford a strong justification of the

'conduct

'conduct of the promoters of that measure.' When his tory friends have digested that sentiment, they may look at his patriotic invectives against the degrading connexion of the two last of the Stuart Princes with the court of France; and 'the scandalous profligacy by which Charles and his successor betrayed 'the best interests of their country for miserable stipends.' There is something very edifying indeed, though we should fear a little alarming to courtly tempers, in the warmth with which our author winds up his diatribe on this interesting subject. 'Every one,' he observes, 'who carries on a clandestine correspondence with a foreign power, in matters touching the interests of Great Britain, is *primâ facie* guilty of a great moral, 'as well as political, crime. If a subject, he is a traitor to his 'King and his country; if a Monarch, *he is a traitor to the Crown 'which he wears*, and to the empire which he governs. There 'may, by possibility, be circumstances to extenuate the former; 'there can be none to lessen our detestation of the latter.' p. 149, 150.

Conformably to these sentiments, Mr Rose expresses his concurrence with all that Mr Fox says of the arbitrary and oppressive measures which distinguished the latter part of Charles's reign;—declares that 'he has manifested great temperance and 'forbearance in the character which he gives of Jefferies,'—and '*understated* the enormity of the cruel and detestable proceedings 'of the Scottish government, in its unheard-of acts of power, 'and the miseries and persecutions which it inflicted;'—admits that Mr Fox's work treated of a period, 'in which *the tyranny 'of the Sovereign* at home was not redeemed by any glory or success abroad;'—and speaks of the Revolution as the era 'when 'the full measure of *the Monarch's tyrannical usurpations made 'resistance a duty paramount to every consideration* of personal 'or public danger.'

It is scarcely possible, we conceive, to read these, and many other passages which might be quoted from the work before us, without taking the author for a Whig; and it certainly is not easy to comprehend, how the writer of them could quarrel with anything in Mr Fox's History, for want of deference and veneration for the monarchical part of our constitution. To say the truth, we have not always been able to satisfy ourselves of the worthy author's consistency; and holding, as we are inclined to do, that his natural and genuine sentiments are liberal and manly, we can only account for the narrowness and unfairness of some of his remarks, by supposing them to originate from the habits of his practical politics, and of that long course of opposition, in which he learned to consider it a duty to his party to discredit everything that came

from

from the advocates of the people. We shall now say a word or two on the remarks themselves, which, as we have already noticed, will be found to be infinitely fewer, and more insignificant, than any one, looking merely to the bulk of the volume, could possibly have conjectured.

The first, of any sort of importance, is made on those passages in which Mr Fox calls the execution of the King 'a far less violent measure than that of Lord Strafford;' and says, that 'there was something in the splendour and magnanimity of the act, which has served to raise the character of the nation in the opinion of Europe in general.' Mr Rose takes great offence at both these remarks; and says, that the constitution itself was violated by the execution of the King, while the case of Lord Strafford was but a private injury. We are afraid Mr Rose does not perfectly understand Mr Fox,—otherwise it would be difficult not to agree with him. The grossness of Lord Strafford's case consisted in this, that a bill of attainder was brought in, *after* a regular proceeding by impeachment had been tried against him. He was substantially *acquitted*, by the most unexceptionable process known in our law, *before* the bill of attainder came to declare him guilty, and to punish him. There was here, therefore, a most flagrant violation of all law and justice, and a precedent for endless abuses and oppressions. In the case of the King, on the other hand, there could be no violation of settled rules or practice; because the case itself was necessarily out of the purview of every rule, and could be drawn into no precedent. The constitution, no doubt, was necessarily destroyed or suspended by the trial; but Mr Rose appears to forget, that it had been destroyed or suspended before, by the *war*, or by the acts of the King which brought on the war. If it was lawful to fight against the King, it must have been lawful to take him prisoner: after he was a prisoner, it was both lawful and necessary to consider what should be done with him; and every deliberation of this sort had all the assumption, and none of the fairness of a trial. Yet Mr Rose has himself told us, that 'there are cases in which resistance becomes a paramount duty;' and probably is not prepared to say, that it was more violent and criminal to drive King James from the throne in 1688, than to wrest all law and justice to take the life of Lord Strafford in 1641. Yet the constitution was as much violated by the forfeiture of the one Sovereign, as by the trial and execution of the other. It was possible that the trial of King Charles might have terminated in a sentence of mere deprivation; and if James had fought against his people, and been conquered, he might have been tried and executed. The constitution was gone for the time, in both cases, as soon as force was mutually appealed to; and the violence

violence that followed thereafter, to the person of the Monarch, can receive no aggravation from any view of that nature.

With regard, again, to the loyal horror which Mr Rose expresses, when Mr Fox speaks of the splendour and magnanimity of the proceedings against the King, it is probable that this zealous observer was not aware, that his favourite 'prerogative writer,' Mr Hume, had used the same, or still loftier expressions, in relation to the same event. Some of the words of that loyal and unsuspected historian are as follows. 'The pomp, the dignity, 'the ceremony of this transaction, correspond to the greatest 'conceptions that are suggested in the annals of human kind;— 'the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their 'supreme magistrate, and trying him for his mismanagement and 'breach of trust.'* Cordially as we agree with Mr Fox in the unprofitable severity of this example, it is impossible, we conceive, for any one to consider the great, grave, and solemn movement of the nation that led to it, or the stern and dispassionate temper in which it was conducted, without feeling that proud contrast between this execution and that of all other deposed sovereigns in history,—which led Mr Fox, in common with Mr Hume, and every other writer on the subject, to make use of the expressions which have been alluded to.

When Mr Rose, in the close of his remarks upon this subject, permits himself to insinuate, that if Mr Fox thought such high praise due to the publicity, &c. of King Charles's trial, he must have felt unbounded admiration at that of Lewis XVI.;—he has laid himself open to a charge of such vulgar and uncandid unfairness, as was not to have been at all expected from a person of his rank and description. If Lewis XVI. had been openly in arms against his people,—if the Convention had required no other victim,—and had settled into a regular government as soon as he was removed, there might have been more room for a parallel,—to which, as the fact actually stands, every Briton must listen with indignation. Lewis XVI. was wantonly sacrificed to the rage of an insane and bloodthirsty faction, and tossed to the executioner among the common supplies for the guillotine. The publicity and parade of his trial were assumed from no love of justice, or sense of dignity; but from a low principle of profligate and clamorous defiance to every thing that had become displeasing: and, ridiculous and incredible as it would appear of any other nation, we have not the least doubt, that a certain childish emulation of the avenging liberty of the English had its share in producing this paltry copy of our grand and original daring. The insane coxcombs

* Hume's History, vol. vii. p. 141.

combs who blew out their brains, after a piece of tawdry declamation, in some of the provincial assemblies, were about as like Cato or Hannibal, as the trial and execution of Lewis was like the condemnation of King Charles. Our regicides were serious and original at least, in the bold, bad deeds which they committed. The regicides of France were poor theatrical imitators,—intoxicated with blood and with power, and incapable even of forming a sober estimate of the guilt or the consequences of their actions. Before leaving this subject, we must remind our readers, that Mr Fox unequivocally condemns the execution of the King; and spends some time in showing that it was excusable neither on the ground of present expediency or future warning. It is after he has finished that statement, that he proceeds to say, that 'notwithstanding what the more reasonable part of mankind may 'think, it is to be doubted, whether that proceeding has not serv-'ed to raise the national character in the eyes of foreigners,' &c.; and then goes on to refer to the conversations he had himself witnessed on that subject abroad. A man must be a very zealous royalist, indeed, to disbelieve or be offended with this.

Mr Rose's next observation is in favour of General Monk; upon whom he is of opinion that Mr Fox has been by far too severe,—at the same time that he fails utterly in obviating any of the grounds upon which that severity is justified. Monk was not reponsible *alone* indeed, for restoring the king, without taking any security for the people; but, as wielding the whole power of the army, by which that restoration was effected, he is certainly *chiefly* responsible for that most criminal omission. As to his indifference to the fate of his companions in arms, Mr Rose does indeed quote the testimony of *his chaplain*, who wrote a complimentary life of his patron, to prove that, on the trial of the regicides, he behaved with great moderation. We certainly do not rate this testimony very high; and do think it far more than compensated by that of Mrs Hutchison, who, in the life of her husband, says, that on the first proceedings against the regicides in the House of Commons, 'Monk sate still, and had not one word to interpose for any man, '*but was as forward to set vengeance on foot as any one.*'* And a little afterwards she adds, apparently from her own personal knowledge and observation, that 'before the prisoners were 'brought to the Tower, Monk and his wife came one evening to 'the garden, and caused them to be brought down, only to stare 'at them,—which was such a behaviour for that man, who had be-'trayed so many of those that had honoured and trusted him, &c. 'as no story can paralell the inhumanity of.'†

With regard again to Mr Fox's charge of Monk's tamely acquiescing in the insults so meanly put on the illustrious corpse of

* Life of Colonel Hutchison, p. 372. † *Ibid.* p. 378.

his old commander Blake, it is perfectly evident, even from the authorities referred to by Mr Rose, that Blake's body was dug up by the King's order, among others, and removed out of the hallowed precincts of Westminster, to be reinterred with twenty more, in one pit at St Margaret's.

But the chief charge is, that on the trial of Argyle, Monk spontaneously sent down some confidential letters, which turned the scale of evidence against that unfortunate nobleman. This statement, to which Mr Fox is most absurdly blamed for giving credit, is made on the authority of the three historians who lived nearest to the date of the transaction, and who all report it as quite certain and notorious. These historians are Burnet, Baillie and Cunningham; nor are they contradicted by any one writer on the subject, except Dr Campbell, who, at a period comparatively recent, and without pretending to have discovered any new document on the subject, is pleased to disbelieve them upon certain hypothetical and argumentative reasons of his own. These reasons Mr Laing has examined and most satisfactorily obviated in his history; and Mr Rose has exerted incredible industry to defend. The Scottish records for that period have perished; and for this reason, and because a collection of pamphlets and newspapers, of that age, in Mr Rose's possession, make no mention of the circumstance, he thinks fit to discredit it altogether. If this kind of scepticism were to be indulged, there would be an end of all reliance on history. In this particular case, both Burnet and Baillie speak quite positively, from the information of cotemporaries; and state a circumstance that would very well account for the silence of the formal accounts of the trial, if any such had been preserved, viz. that Monk's letters were not produced till after the evidence was finished on both sides, and the debate begun on the result;—an irregularity, by the way, by much too gross to have been charged against a public proceeding without any foundation.

Mr Rose's next observation is directed rather against Judge Blackstone than against Mr Fox; and is meant to show, that this learned person was guilty of great inaccuracy in representing the year 1679 as the era of good laws and bad government. It is quite impossible to follow him through the dull details and feeble disputations by which he labours to make it appear that our laws were not very good in 1679, and that they, as well as the administration of them, were much mended after the Revolution. Mr Fox's, or rather Blackstone's remark is too obviously and strikingly true in substance, to admit of any argument or illustration. *

The next charge against Mr Fox is for saying, that if Charles II.'s ministers betrayed him, he betrayed them in return; keeping, from

* Mr Rose talks a great deal, and justly, about the advantage of the judges not being removeable at pleasure; and, with a great air of

from ſome of them at leaſt, the ſecret of what he was pleaſed to call his religion, and the ſtate of his connexions with France. After the furious attack which Mr Roſe has made in another place upon this Prince and his French connexions, it is rather ſurpriſing, to ſee with what zeal he undertakes his defence againſt this very venial ſort of treachery, of concealing his ſhame from ſome of his more reſpectable miniſters. The attempt, however, is at leaſt as unſucceſsful as it is unaccountable. Mr Fox ſays only, that *ſome* of the miniſters were not truſted with the ſecret; and both Dalrymple and Macpherſon ſay, that none but the *Catholic* counſellors were admitted to this confidence. Mr Roſe mutters, that there is no evidence of this; and himſelf produces an abſtract of the ſecret treaty between Lewis and Charles, of May 1670, to which the ſubſcriptions of four *Catholic* miniſters of the latter are affixed!

Mr Fox is next taxed with great negligence for ſaying, that he

of erudition, informs us, that after 6. Charles, all the commissions were made *quamdiu nobis placuerit*. Mr Rose's researches, we fear, do not often go beyond the records in his custody. If he had looked into Rushworth's Collection, he would have found, that, in 1641, King Charles agreed to make the commissions *quamdiu se bene gesserint;* and that some of those illegally removed in the following reign, though not officiating in court, still retained certain functions in consequence of that appointment. The following is the passage, at p. 1265. v. iii. of Rushworth. 'After the passing of these votes (16th 'December 1640) against the judges, and transmitting them to the 'House of Peers, and their concurring with the House of Commons 'therein, an address was made unto the King shortly after, that his 'Majesty, for the future, would not make any judge by patent *during* '*pleasure;* but that they may hold their places hereafter, *quamdiu se* '*bene gesserint;* and his Majesty *did readily grant the same*. And in 'his speech to both Houses of Parliament, at the time of giving his 'Royal assent to two bills, one to take away the High Commission 'Court, and the other the Court of Star-Chamber, and regulating 'the power of the Council Table, he hath this passage. "If you "consider what I have done this Parliament, discontents will not sit "in your hearts; for I hope you remember, that I have granted, that "the judges hereafter shall hold their places *quamdiu se bene gesse-*"*rint.*" 'And likewise, his gracious Majesty King Charles the 'Second observed the same rule and method in granting pa-'tents to judges, *quamdiu se bene gesserint;* as appears upon record 'in the rolls, viz. to Sergeant Silde to be Lord Chief Justice of the 'King's Bench; Sir Orlando Bridgeman to be Lord Chief Baron, 'and afterwards to be Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas; to Sir 'Robert Forster, and others: Mr Sergeant Archer now living, *not-*'*withstanding his removal, still enjoys his patent*, being *quamdiu se* '*bene gesserit;* and receives *a share in the profits of the court*, as to 'fees and other proceedings, by virtue of his said patent; and his 'name is used in those fines, &c. as a judge of that court.'

does not know what proof there is of Clarendon's being privy to Charles receiving money from France; and very long quotations are inserted from the correspondence printed by Dalrymple and Macpherson,—which do *not* prove Clarendon's knowledge of any money being *received*, though they do seem to establish, that he must have known of its being stipulated for.

After this comes Mr Rose's grand attack; in which he charges the historian with his whole heavy artillery of argument and quotation, and makes a vigorous effort to drive him from the position, that the early and primary object of James's reign was not to establish popery in this country, but, in the first place, to render himself absolute; and that, for a considerable time, he does not appear to have aimed at any thing more than a complete toleration for his own religion. The grounds upon which this opinion is maintained by Mr Fox, are certainly very probable. There is, in the first place, his zeal for the Church of England during his brother's life, and the violent oppressions by which he enforced a protestant test in Scotland; secondly, the fact of his carrying on the government and the persecution of nonconformists by protestant ministers; and, thirdly, his addresses to his Parliament, and the tenor of much of his correspondence with Lewis. In opposition to this, Mr Rose quotes an infinite variety of passages from Barillon's correspondence, to show in general the unfeigned zeal of this unfortunate Prince for his religion, and his constant desire to glorify and advance it. Now, it is perfectly obvious, in the first place, that Mr Fox never intended to dispute James's zeal for Popery; and, in the second place, it is very remarkable, that in the first *seven* passages quoted by Mr Rose, nothing more is said to be in the King's contemplation than the complete *toleration* of that religion. 'The free exercise of the Catholic religion in their own houses,'—the abolition of the penal laws against Catholics,—'the free exercise of that religion,' &c. &c. are the only objects to which the zeal of the King is said to be directed; and it is not till after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, that these phrases are exchanged for 'a resolution to *establish the Catholic religion*,' or 'to get that religion established;' though it would be fair, perhaps, to interpret some even of these phrases with reference to those which precede them in the correspondence; especially as, in a letter from Lewis to Barillon, so late as 20th August 1685, he merely urges the great expediency of James establishing '*the free exercise*' of that religion.

After all, in reality, there is not much substantial difference as to this point between the historian and his observer. Mr Fox admits most explicitly, that James was zealous in the cause of Popery; and that after Monmouth's execution, he made attempts equally violent and undisguised, to restore it. Mr Rose, on the other hand, admits that he was exceedingly desirous to render himself absolute; and that one ground of his attachment to Popery probably was, its natural

natural affinity with an arbitrary government. Upon which of these two objects he set the chief value, and which of them he wished to make subservient to the other, it is not perhaps now very easy to determine. In addition to the authorities referred to by Mr Fox, however, there are many more which tend directly to show that one great ground of his antipathy to the reformed religion was, his conviction that it led to rebellion and republicanism. There are very many passages in Barillon to this effect; and, indeed, the burden of all Lewis's letters is to convince James that 'the existence of monarchy' in England, depended on the protection of the Catholics. Barillon says, (Fox, App. p. 125.) that 'the King often declares publicly, that all Calvinists are naturally 'enemies to royalty, and above all to royalty in England;' and Burnet observes, (Vol. I. p. 73.) that the King told him, 'that 'among other prejudices he had against the Protestant religion, 'this was one, that his brother and himself being in many com-'panies in Paris *incognito* (during the Commonwealth), where 'there were Protestants, he found they were all alienated from 'them, and great admirers of Cromwell; *so he believed they were* '*all rebels in their hearts.*' It will not be forgotten either, that in his first address to the Council, on his accession, he made use of those memorable words—'I know the principles of the Church of 'England are for monarchy, and *therefore* I shall always take care 'to defend and support it.' While he retained this opinion of its loyalty, accordingly he did defend and support it; and did persecute all dissidents from its doctrine, at least as violently as he afterwards did those who opposed Popery. It was only when he found that the orthodox doctrines of nonresistance and *jus divinum* would not go all lengths, and that even the bishops would not send his proclamations to their clergy, that he came to class them with the rest of the heretics, and to rely entirely upon the slavish votaries of the Roman superstition.

The next set of remarks are introduced for the purpose of showing that Mr Fox has gone rather too far in stating, that the object both of Charles and James in taking money from Lewis, was to render themselves independent of Parliament, and to enable them to govern without those assemblies. Mr Rose admits that this was the point which both monarchs were *desirous* of attaining; and merely says, that it does not appear that either of them expected that the calling of Parliaments could be entirely dispensed with. There certainly is not here any worthy subject of contention.

The next point is, as to the sums of money which Barillon says he distributed to the Whig leaders, as well as to the King's ministers. Mr Rose is very liberal and rational on this subject; and thinks it not unfair to doubt the accuracy of the account which this minister renders of his disbursements. He even quotes two passages from Mad. de Sevigné, to show that it was the general opi-

nion that he had enriched himself greatly by his mission to England. In a letter written during the continuance of that mission, she says, 'Barillon s'en va, &c.; *son emploi est admirable cette année; il mangera cinquante mille francs; mais il sait bien ou les prendre.*' And after his final return, she says he is old and rich, and looks without envy on the brilliant situation of M. D'Avaux. The only inference he draws from the discussion is, that it should have a little shaken Mr Fox's confidence in his accuracy. The answer to which obviously is, that his mere dishonesty, where his private interest was concerned, can afford no reason for doubting his accuracy, where it was not affected.

In the concluding section of his remarks, Mr Rose resumes his eulogium on Sir Patrick Hume,—introduces a splendid encomium on the Marquis of Montrose,—brings authority to show, that torture was used to extort confession in Scotland even after the Revolution,—and then breaks out into a high Tory rant against Mr Fox, for supposing that the councillors who condemned Argyle might not be very easy in their consciences, and for calling those who were hunting down that nobleman's dispersed followers 'authorised assassins.' James, he says, was their *lawful Sovereign;* and the parties in question having been in open rebellion, it was the evident duty of all who had not joined with them to suppress them. We are not very fond of arguing general points of this nature; and the question here is fortunately special, and simple. If the tyranny and oppression of James in Scotland—the unheard of enormity of which Mr Rose owns that Mr Fox has understated—had already given that country a far juster title to renounce him than England had in 1688, then James was *not* 'their lawful Sovereign' in any sense in which that phrase can be understood by a free people; and those whose cowardice or despair made them submit to be the instruments of the tyrant's vengeance on one who had armed for their deliverance, may very innocently be presumed to have suffered some remorse for their compliance. With regard, again, to the phrase of 'authorised assassins,' it is plain, from the context of Mr Fox, that it is not applied to the regular forces acting against the remains of Argyle's *armed* followers, but to those individuals, whether military or not, who pursued the disarmed and solitary fugitives, for the purpose of butchering them in cold blood, in their caverns and mountains.

Such is the substance of Mr Rose's observations; which certainly do not appear to us of any considerable value,—though they indicate, throughout, a laudable industry, and a still more laudable consciousness of inferiority,—together with (what we are determined to believe) a natural disposition to liberality and moderation, counteracted by the littleness of party jealousy and resentment. We had noted a great number of petty misrepresentations and small inaccuracies; but in a work which is not likely either to be much

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read or long remembered, these things are not worth the trouble of correction.

Though the book itself is very dull, however, we must say that the Appendix is very entertaining. Sir Patrick's narrative is clear and spirited; but what delights us far more, is another and more domestic and miscellaneous narrative of the adventures of his family, from the period of Argyle's discomfiture till their return in the train of King William. This is from the hand of Lady Murray, Sir Patrick's granddaughter; and is mostly furnished from the information of her mother, his favourite and exemplary daughter. There is an air of cheerful magnanimity and artless goodness about this little history, which is extremely engaging; and a variety of traits of *Scottish* simplicity and homeliness of character, which recommend it, in a peculiar manner, to our *national* feelings. Althougn we have already enlarged this article beyond its proper limits, we must give our readers a few specimens of this singular chronicle.

After Sir Patrick's escape, he made his way to his own castle, and was concealed for some time in a vault under the church, where his daughter, then a girl under twenty, went alone every night, with a heroic fortitude, to comfort and feed him. The gaiety, however, which lightened this perilous intercourse, is to us still more admirable than its heroism.

'She went every night by herself at midnight, to carry him victuals, and drink; and stayed with him as long as she could to get home before day. In all this time, my grandfather showed the same constant composure, and chearfulness of mind, that he continued to possess to his death, which was at the age of eighty-four; all which good qualities she inherited from him in a high degree. *Often did they laugh heartily in that doleful habitation*, at different accidents that happened. She at that time had a terror for a church-yard, especially in the dark, as is not uncommon at her age, by idle nursery stories; but when engaged by concern for her father, she stumbled over the graves every night alone, without fear of any kind entering her thoughts, but for soldiers and parties in search of him, which the least noise or motion of a leaf put her in terror for. The minister's house was near the church. The first night she went, his dogs kept such a barking as put her in the utmost fear of a discovery. My grandmother sent for the minister next day, and, upon pretence of a mad dog, got him to hang all his dogs. There was also difficulty of getting victuals to carry him, without the servants suspecting: the only way it was done, was by stealing it off her plate at dinner, into her lap. Many a diverting story she has told about this, and other things of the like nature. Her father liked sheeps head; and, while the children were eating their broth, she had conveyed most of one into her lap. When her brother Sandy (the late Lord Marchmont) had done, he lookt up with astonishment and said, Mother, will ye look at Grizzel, while we have been eating our

broth, she has eat up the whole sheeps head. *This occasioned so much mirth among them, that her father, at night, was greatly entertained by it; and desired Sandy might have a share in the next.*' App. p. [v.]

They then tried to secrete him in a low room in his own house; and, for this purpose, to contrive a bed concealed under the floor, which this affectionate and light-hearted girl secretly excavated herself, by scratching up the earth with her nails, 'till she left not a nail on her fingers,' and carrying it into the garden at night in bags. At last, however, they all got over to Holland, where they seem to have lived in great poverty,—but in the same style of magnanimous gaiety and cordial affection, of which some instances have been recited. This admirable young woman, who lived afterwards with the same simplicity of character in the first society in England, seems to have exerted herself in a way that nothing but affection could have rendered tolerable, even to one bred up to drudgery.

'All the time they were there,' (says his daughter), 'there was not a week my mother did not sit up two nights, to do the business that was necessary. She went to market; went to the mill to have their corn ground, which, it seems, is the way with good managers there; dress't the linen; cleaned the house; made ready dinner; mended the childrens' stockings, and other cloaths; made what she could for them; and, in short, did every thing. Her sister Christian, who was a year or two younger, diverted her father and mother, and the rest, who were fond of music. Out of their small income they bought a harpsichord for little money (but is a Rucar *), now in my custody, and most valuable. My aunt played and sung well, and had a great deal of life and humour; but no turn to business. Though my mother had the same qualifications, and liked it as well as she did, she was forced to drudge; and *many jokes used to pass betwixt the sisters about their different occupations.*' p. [ix.]

'Her brother soon afterwards entered into the Prince of Orange's guards; and her constant attention was to have him appear right in his linen and dress. They wore little point cravats and cuffs, which many a night she sat up to have in as good order for him as any in the place; and one of their greatest expenses was in dressing him as he ought to be. As their house was always full of the unfortunate banished people like themselves, they seldom went to dinner, without three, or four, or five of them, to share with them; and many a hundred times I have heard her say, she could never look back upon their manner of living there, without thinking it a miracle. They had no want, but plenty of every thing they desired, and much contentment; and always declared it the most pleasing part of her life, though they were not without their little distresses; *but to them they were rather jokes than grievances.* The professors, and men of learning in the place, came often to see my grandfather. The best entertainment he could give them, was a glass of alabast beer, which was a better kind of ale than common. He sent his son

* 'An eminent maker of that time.'

son Andrew, the late Lord Kimmerghame, a boy, to draw some for them in the cellar: he brought it up with great diligence; but in the other hand the spiket of the barrel. My grandfather said, Andrew, what is that in your hand? When he saw it, he run down with speed; but the beer was all run out before he got there. *This occasioned much mirth;* though, perhaps, they did not well know where to get more.' p. x. xi.

Sir Patrick, we are glad to hear, retained this kindly cheerfulness of character to the last; and, after he was an Earl and Chancellor of Scotland, and unable to stir with gout, had himself carried to the room where his children and grandchildren were dancing, and insisted upon beating time with his foot. Nay, when *dying* at the advanced age of eighty-four, he could not resist his old propensity to joking, but uttered various pleasantries on the disappointment the worms would meet with, when, after boring through his thick coffin, they would find little but bones.

There is, in the appendix, besides these narrations, a fierce attack upon Burnet, which is full of inaccuracies and ill temper; and some interesting particulars of Monmouth's imprisonment and execution. We dare say Mr Rose could publish a volume or two of very interesting tracts; and can venture to predict, that his collections will be much more popular than his observations.

[☞ In our review of Mr Newenham's book in the preceding Number, we have been led into two slight errors, by following the newspaper account of Sir John Newport's statements in the House of Commons, which we have since been favoured with the means of correcting. The statement given by Sir John, of the expenditure of the Navigation Board, (referred to at p. 154. of this volume) applied, not, as we formerly imagined, to their whole proceedings since the Union, but only to the year 1806, the last then before the House; and the true result of that statement is, that out of a total sum of 144,378l, expended under the superintendance of the Board, no less than 32,000l. had been paid in salaries to Directors and other officers, exclusive of engineers,—which, together with 4108l. of contingencies charged to the Board, amounts to one fourth part of the whole expenditure under its direction.—The other inaccuracy, or rather defect, which we wish to correct in our statement, relates to the assessment by ploughlands, mentioned at the bottom of p. 154.; as to which, the precise facts are as follow. Two *adjoining* ploughlands in the county of Cork are assessed at the same sum, though one consists of 1360 acres, the other only of 240. In the barony of Fermoy, there is one of 100 acres, and one of 1000, which pay exactly the same;—the next adjoining one is 179 acres. In the county of Fermanagh, if we may trust the returns made to Parliament, the inequality is still more glaring. Parcels of lands are there stated, by the Treasurer, to be taxed at the same rate, though some contain but *one*, and others *one hundred* acres. This, however, we have no doubt, is a very gross exaggeration.]

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